The Outlook

Vol. 70 March 8, 1902 No. 10

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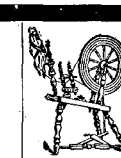

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The Outlook

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The Tillman Scandal: A Constitutional Question

An interesting Constitutional question arose out of the Tillman-McLaurin incident in the Senate. Both Senators were in contempt. The presiding officer, Senator Frye, directed the Clerk to remove the names of the two Senators from the roll while they were in contempt, which deprived them of the privilege of taking any part in Senatorial proceedings. Against this Senator Tillman protested on the ground that it deprived his State of representation in the Senate. On reconsideration Senator Frye restored the names to the roll, not as a reversal of his previous decision, but in order that the Senate itself should pass upon the Constitutional question involved. The Constitution of the United States provides that "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member." It also provides that "no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." In interpreting the Constitution the Senate divided upon partisan lines. The Republican Senators held that, under the first provision quoted, it is "clearly within the power of the Senate to punish, if necessary, by imprisonment, or suspension of the right of the Senator to participate in speaking or voting in the proceedings in that body." The right to punish for disorderly behavior is essential to the preservation of order. A mere rebuke is not an adequate punishment for such an offense as that committed by Senator Tillman, who probably cares as little for a Senatorial rebuke as he does for the general public condemnation. If the Senate cannot suspend or imprison a Senator, it can practically inflict no punishment at all unless a two-thirds vote can be secured for expulsion. The Democrats held that if a Senator might be suspended by a majority vote, then the majority might indefinitely deprive a State of its representation in the Senate, because suspension does not create a vacancy which the State might fill. This argument, however, assumes an entire absence not only of patriotism but of practical common sense in the Senators. No party which availed itself of a temporary majority to deprive a State of representation by unjustifiable suspension of its Senators could stand for a single election the storm of indignation which would be visited upon it. On the other hand, disorder not only in our own Senate and House, but in the legislative bodies of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Spain—in fact, of every representative government—demonstrates the necessity of lodging power in the majority to preserve order by adequate punishment. We do not recall any historical incident that justifies the fear that the majority would abuse that power for partisan advantage by depriving a State of its just representaton.

❀

The Senate's Action

The difference in the Senate on this important Constitutional question was rendered more or less academic by a final agreement that the present offense should not be punished by suspension, but merely by severe censure. It was found that the whole Senate would agree upon the resolution of censure, but that no further action could be taken with any approach to unanimity. The Republican members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to which the matter was referred, were unanimous that the Senate had a right to suspend a member, and that Senator Tillman's offense was greater than that of Senator McLaurin, but only a minority—Senators Beveridge, McComas,

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and Pritchard—favored suspension in the present instance. Of this minority the two first named recommended that Senator McLaurin be suspended for five days and Senator Tillman for twenty-five. Senator Pritchard reported that Senator McLaurin had already been sufficiently punished. The Democratic members were unanimous that Senator Tillman's offense was not greater than that of Senator McLaurin, and that the Senate had no right to suspend a member. They, however, gave their support to the resolutions reported by the Republican majority. The votes finally recorded against these resolutions, therefore, were not the votes of the Democratic minority, but of the Republican minority who did not consider the punishment of Senator Tillman adequate. There were eleven such votes on the final roll-call, against fifty-five in favor of the resolutions, and the vote would have been so recorded had not Senator Tillman, in explaining his reason for not voting, given further offense by declaring that "among gentlemen an apology for an offense committed under the heat of blood is usually considered sufficient." At the close of the roll-call Senator Kean, of New Jersey, characterized this declaration as another insult to the Senate, and asked that his vote on the resolutions be changed from "aye" to "no," so that he might be recorded among those who protested against the inadequacy of Senator Tillman's punishment.

❀

The Sentiment of South Carolina

The action of the President of the United States in withdrawing his invitation to Senator Tillman to the dinner in honor of Prince Henry, after Senator Tillman had refused, in response to the President's private suggestion, to withdraw his acceptance of the invitation, was a necessary act of respect to the Prince, to the Senate, which Mr. Tillman could not properly represent while he was in contempt under official vote of the Senate, and to the people of the United States. His nephew has seen fit to resent this action by withdrawing an invitation which had been extended to the President to present on his visit to Charleston a sword to a major of the Rough Riders. This action, which ought not to be taken seriously by the country at large, does not represent the sentiment of the better people of South Carolina; whether it represents the majority or not we do not know. It was manifestly offensive to Major Jenkins, to whom the sword was to have been presented. In a well-worded note to Senator Tillman, Major Jenkins has declined to receive the sword. The reputable public sentiment of the State on the subject is expressed by its two leading papers, the Charleston "News and Courier" and the Columbia "State." The former declares that the Senator's "apology to the Senate on Saturday for his disgraceful conduct was even worse than his offense against all decency and good order," condemns Senator McLaurin's conduct as also "utterly without excuse," and truly declares that "no punishment that the Senate could inflict upon the South Carolina Senators would be too severe for their outrageous conduct." The Columbia "State" satirically asks why Senator McLaurin should "turn pale" and "tremble with emotion" at being charged with having sold his vote for patronage when the charge has so often been made against him in his own State without producing any such effect, and why Senator Tillman should be so excited over being called a liar when he has repeatedly "accepted that epithet on the South Carolina stump with the gentle meekness of a lamb or the lofty, serene repose of a statesman," and ends by recommending the expulsion of both the Senators in the following unambiguous terms:

> We are constrained to declare our regret that Senators Tillman and McLaurin did not carry out their agreement of last summer to resign their seats and appeal to the people of South Carolina for vindication. And we think we can say for the white voters of the State without regard to faction that they would be glad to have an opportunity now afforded them to vote on the fitness of Benjamin R. Tillman and John L. McLaurin to represent them in the Senate of the United States.

The Outlook heartily seconds the suggestion of both these South Carolina journals that the best thing for both the Senators to do would be to resign and give the voters of the State an opportunity to determine whether these are the men whom they wish to represent them in the Senate. We regret that a proposal for

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expulsion, at least of Mr. Tillman, if not of both the Senators, was not presented to the Senate, that the country might know what Senators think such a pugilistic encounter is a pardonable offense, and what Senators think it ought to debar those who take part in it from a share in directing the destinies of the Nation.

❀

Mr. Hay's Oration On February 12, 1866, the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, and ten months after his assassination, George Bancroft delivered an oration in honor of the martyr. This event took place in the House of Representatives, Washington, before the Senate and the House in joint session. On February 27, 1882, in the same place and under circumstances of tragical similarity, Congress listened to an oration by James G. Blaine upon the life and services of President Garfield. Last week, twenty years to a day after that oration, in the presence of the President of the United States, of Prince Henry of Prussia, of the Diplomatic Corps, the Supreme Court Judges, and the Houses of Congress, Lincoln's friend and historian, John Hay, Secretary of State, delivered an oration on our third Presidential martyr. The same spirit of genuine and unaffected mourning, from political friend and foe alike, which characterized the service in the Capitol on September 27, 1901, was entirely characteristic of this. For both events unwonted pressure had been exercised to obtain tickets, and every bit of room in the House was utilized. Congress did wisely in asking Secretary Hay to write and deliver the memorial address. Colonel Hay united uncommon qualifications. He brought to his task an innate sympathy with the subject—a beloved National leader at the moment of his greatest reputation struck down by a coward's hand. "Although," he said, "no sane man can fathom the mysteries of untracked and orbitless natures, it ought to be within the compass of democratic government to guard against their aberrations, to take away from them the hope of escape, the long luxury of scandalous days in court, the unwholesome sympathy of hysterical degenerates, and so, by degrees, to make crime not worth committing even to these abnormal and distorted souls." No living man has been so intimately the friend of all three martyred Presidents; and hence no eulogy of the last, prepared from first-hand knowledge, could be more discriminating. Mr. McKinley's merits were weighed with those of American and other leaders by one who, through long service in our Government's foreign affairs and the study of statecraft throughout the world, has arrived at a comprehension of international currents and relations which gives to his public utterance a singularly correct yet independent perspective. Finally, the orator's appreciations were expressed in the language of a thoroughly trained man of letters. His phrasing was that which the Senate and the House had a right to expect—orderly, simple, direct, dignified, felicitous in measured gravity and eloquent in restraint—the words of a high-minded gentleman and an accomplished scholar who has put himself on a level with the foremost diplomatists of our history.

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The Capture of Lukban The military authorities regard the capture on Washington's Birthday of the Filipino General Lukban as the most important single event since the capture of Aguinaldo. None of the native commanders has shown more energy in fighting or has been more irreconcilable than Lukban. The forces he has commanded in the island of Samar have carried on a guerrilla warfare in which their knowledge of the wilds and woods has made pursuit a matter of hardship in the extreme. During the last three months one American regiment in the island has had no less than ninety-five men killed, wounded, or disabled. In the end the island was divided into small territorial squares, each with a garrison, and a course of operations something like that now being carried out by Lord Kitchener in South Africa led to the penning up of the leader and part of his men. It is hoped that Samar will now be brought under complete military control. If so, the proposed reduction of our forces in the Philippines to a total of 32,000 will be practicable, and the 13,000 men sent out in 1899 will return at once. In connection with the progress of the campaign, the opinion of General J. C. Breckinridge

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is of interest. He is Inspector-General of the United States Army, and has just returned from a tour of inspection of the Philippine Islands. He says:

> The islands cannot be said to be entirely pacified, for a certain amount of guerrilla warfare is going on. The military forces are not operating to any great extent just now, as this is the rainy season. After the rains are over, I expect the soldiers will penetrate to the interior and bring about peace. Governor Taft has made great advancement toward placing the islands on a peaceful and industrial footing. The schools in the island are flourishing. The native Filipino thirsts after knowledge and American ideas. The white teachers who have gone to the Philippines are accomplishing great results.

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The Supreme Court and the Railway Merger

Article III., Sec. 2, of the Constitution of the United States reads: "In all cases . . . in which a State shall be party [against another State or citizens of another State], the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction." Acting on this, last January Attorney-General Douglas, of the State of Minnesota, appeared before the United States Supreme Court with a bill of complaint asking that the Northern Securities Company be enjoined from possessing itself of the stock of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railway Companies, on the ground that the laws of Minnesota had been violated. Last week the Court declared that it had no jurisdiction in the matter, and denied the motion for leave to file the bill. The actual merits of the bill, therefore, did not come before the Court; these might be reduced to the simple question: "Is it lawful for a citizen or corporation of one State to do a legal act in that State while the act violates the law of another State?" In announcing the Court's decision last week on the question of jurisdiction, Mr. Justice Shiras said that the question to be determined was whether the parties to the case were before the Court. It was obvious that the minority stockholders of the two railway companies were not represented in the controversy by the companies whose stock they hold, and that their rights ought not to be affected without a hearing. Moreover, private interests were not alone to be considered. In the words of the opinion, "the Directors of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific Railway Companies are appointed to represent and protect, not merely the private and pecuniary interests of the stockholders, but the rights of the public at large, which is deeply concerned in the proper and advantageous management of these public highways. It is not sufficient to say that the Attorney-General, or the Governor, or even the Legislature of the State, can be conclusively deemed to represent the public interests in such a controversy as that presented by the bill." When a State becomes a complainant in a court of equity, it cannot claim to represent both sides of the controversy. In the present case the stockholders, be they few or many, have a right to be heard through those whom they have legally selected to represent them, and the general interests of the public are also entitled to be heard. All this can be effected only by the presence of the railway companies as parties defendant. Mr. Justice Shiras added that the Court could not hear the case, acting as a court of equity, and enforce its decree, should one be issued, against parties indispensable to the case, when they were not included in the bill. In this instance the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Companies were such indispensable parties. The Court had examined the question whether or not the omission of the interested parties could be remedied by amendment to the bill. In this case such an amendment could not be permitted without ousting the Supreme Court's jurisdiction to hear the case under the Constitutional grant. It had been held that, when any offending corporation was a citizen or creature of the complaining State, the power of the Supreme Court to hear controversies between States, or between a State and the citizens or corporations of another State, could not be invoked. Therefore, concluded Justice Shiras, as the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railway Companies are indispensable parties in this case, and as their inclusion in the bill of complaint would oust the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the application of the State of Minnesota for leave to file the bill must be denied.

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The Anti-Trust Law and the Merger

Nothing in this decision bears in any way upon the case involving the Northern Securities Company which is about to be begun in the Federal courts. Mr. Knox, Attorney-General of the United States, takes the ground that the Northern Securities Company violates the Anti-Trust Law of 1890. This law provides that "every contract or combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade . . . between any . . . State or States . . . is hereby declared to be illegal." Minnesota's question involved a matter of Constitutional law; Attorney-General Knox's action involves a decision upon statute law. The Minnesota case involved State law only; the Knox case involves Federal law. In the cases which have previously been adjudged by the Supreme Court in connection with the Anti-Trust Law, those of the Trans-Missouri and Joint Traffic Associations involved contracts between independent carriers in order to restrict competition in rates, and the case of the Addyston Pipe Company involved a contract between independent manufacturers limiting competition in an inter-State business. In each of these instances, therefore, the restraint of inter-State commerce seemed to be the only end in view. The rule governing such cases is that the Anti-Trust Act covers direct and substantial transactions in inter-State trade, but not indirect, remote, incidental, and collateral transactions. The question in the case of the Northern Securities Company will be, we judge, whether the railway merger is directly in restraint of trade, or whether its effect in restraint of trade is only remote, incidental, and indirect. Those speaking for the company claim: (1) That, according to the Constitution, no person may be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law, and that this guarantee includes the right freely to buy, hold, and sell property; (2) that the Northern Securities Company has the same right that any citizen has to buy, hold, and sell property; in particular, the same right that the New York Central had to buy the competing West Shore, or the Southern to acquire the Mobile and Ohio, or the Reading to purchase the Jersey Central; (3) lastly, the status of the Northern Pacific Company is not affected by any previous decisions, since the rule governing them apparently does not prevent the transfer of property merely because the ultimate, not the immediate, result may be a restraint of inter-State commerce. These contentions do not reflect the general opinion, however. The result of the contest soon to begin should be to determine the legality of proprietary companies like the Northern, Southern, and Metropolitan Securities Companies, which, whether they use it or not, have the *power* both to control rates and to eliminate competition.

❀

Tax Reform in the Middle West

The House of Representatives in Minnesota last week, by a vote of 60 to 54, defeated the tax code bill which the Legislature was summoned in special session to consider. The defeated code was prepared by a Commission created by the Legislature a year ago, and embodied some important provisions by which the burdens of taxation could be more equally distributed among the property-owners of the State. The Commission, however, was kept from proposing a complete system of reform by certain provisions in the present Constitution of the State. One of these declares that railroads shall be taxed upon their gross earnings, instead of upon their market value like other property. Under this provision the railroads of Minnesota have for years been taxed only three per cent. of their gross earnings, the public not realizing that the gross earnings of a railroad are usually but one-seventh of the market value of its securities. As regards other corporations, the Commission recommended the Indiana system of assessing market values. That which was most remarkable about the code was the drastic character of the provisions for reaching personal property. Some of these approached in severity ex-President Harrison's suggestion that personal property hid from the assessor should be forfeited to the State on the death of the perjurers—though this particular recommendation was not embodied in the code. The critical point in the consideration of the bill was reached when an amendment was carried rejecting the new system of reaching personalty and continuing present methods.

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Many of the rural legislators who had favored the code now turned against it, and their votes turned the scale on the final division. Nothing is more pronounced throughout the Middle West than the determination to reach personal property. Michigan and Illinois are now following Indiana's example in their methods of reaching railroad property, and Ohio, Wisconsin, and Kansas promise soon to adopt the Indiana method of reaching all corporate personalty. More remarkable still is the recent success of some of these Western States in reaching personalty by listing systems. The lines followed here have never commended themselves to our judgment; but the amount of property recently added to the tax-rolls thereby in Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan would have seemed incredible to students of taxation a decade ago. In the rural counties in these States the owners of personalty are perhaps more often the victims of double taxation than the beneficiaries of tax exemption.

❀

The Street Railway Situation in Cleveland

A novel experiment is being worked out in the city of Cleveland in the treatment of street railway franchises. In Ohio franchises are limited to twenty-five years' duration, and a city is required to submit the franchise to public auction and dispose of the same to the bidder proposing to carry passengers at the lowest rates of fare. The law was supposed to contemplate that, on the expiration of the franchises, the same process of re-advertisement should bring about a reduction of fares; but the courts have held that extensions to the original grant might be made without competition at any time by the Council, as well as that, before the expiration of the franchises, the Council might renew the grants without public competition. By this means small and insignificant properties have grown into great systems without competition, while franchises that might have been renewed on most advantageous terms, had the city but waited until their expiration, have been extended five to ten years before their termination. Mr. Tom L. Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland on a platform demanding three-cent fares and municipal ownership. Both of these issues are live ones in Ohio. In Cleveland political ties are rather loosely held in local matters, and, the parties being about evenly divided and the local elections held independent of State and National ones, success has of late years gone to the candidate promising to secure the largest degree of public service from the public service corporations.

❀

The New Three-Cent Fare Franchise

The street railway situation has been approached by Mr. Johnson in a new way. Instead of waiting for the termination of the old franchises, some of which expire in a few years, he has laid out over fifty miles of routes in the city through territory more or less unoccupied by the old companies. These were incorporated into an ordinance providing that the City Clerk should advertise for bids for construction and operation, but that no bids should be received which provided for a rate of cash fare in excess of three cents. The ordinance further provides:

(1) That the books of the company should at all times be open to inspection by the City Auditor, who might examine as to the cost of construction and operation; (2) that the city be given the privilege, at any time upon securing power from the Legislature, to purchase the railways upon the appraised value of their physical property only, no payment being made for the franchise, the city, however, paying in such case ten per cent. in addition to the value of the property as good will. The valuation is to be fixed by three appraisers, one appointed by the city, one by the company, and the third by the two so chosen. (3) That, in case of failure to secure legislation authorizing municipal ownership, the city shall receive, after the expiration of ten years, one-half of the net earnings in excess of eight per cent. This per cent. is not to be measured on the capitalization, but on the cash value of the physical property, obtained in the same manner as in case of purchase. (4) That the street railroad shall be satisfactorily equipped and that its employees shall be protected by a provision for the arbitration of all disputes as to wages, etc., and by a limitation on the hours of employment. The franchise is, of course, limited under the law to twenty years' duration.

It was freely predicted that no bidders would present themselves under such onerous provisions, and but few persons had confidence in the success of the proposition. However, many inquiries were made for copies of the franchise, and on

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the day when bids were received, one bidder came forward and deposited $50,000 in cash as a forfeit and bid to carry passengers at three-cent cash fare and universal transfers. The bid was accepted, and an ordinance is now before the Council granting to the bidder the right to construct thirteen miles of double track from one side of the city to the other, with a provision that all of the track shall be laid within six months.

❀

District Option Local option measures are in the foreground in Massachusetts, Illinois, and New York. In Massachusetts an admirable "District Option" bill has been introduced into the Legislature at the instance of the Boston Temperance Federation. This measure divides the city of Boston into eight districts, along lines which seem quite natural, and gives to the voters in each of these districts the right to determine whether or not saloons shall be licensed within their borders. Most of the districts constitute rather distinctively residence portions of the city, and it is believed that under this extension of the right of local option the saloons of Boston may be restricted to the business section almost as completely as those of Minneapolis, Minnesota, have been under the popular State law which we have more than once described in our columns. The supporters of the "District Option" bill, however, do not need to urge this bill as a piece of special legislation for Boston. All that they ask is that the "seven residential districts" of Boston shall have the same rights as the small towns throughout the State. If the people of the suburbs of Brookline and Newton and West Newton have a right to exclude saloons from the neighborhood of their homes, so have the people of Dorchester, Roxbury, and West Roxbury; and the fact that the latter have been included within the city limits of Boston ought not to abridge their rights. This sound principle is strongly urged by the Boston Temperance Federation, and we trust it will receive the support of temperance people and believers in home rule throughout the State, and that the principle may be extended in practice through the action of other States.

Block and Borough Option The same principle has recently received one extended application in Illinois through an unexpected decision of the Supreme Court. The Chicago ordinance provides that no liquor saloon shall be established on any "block" without the written consent of the majority of the property-owners thereon. The meaning of the word "block" is ambiguous, and the liquor-dealers have naturally interpreted it to mean that portion of any street lying between the adjacent cross streets. The local courts upheld this interpretation, which is indeed that of common usage, but the Supreme Court has decided on appeal that the word "block" in the ordinance has its original meaning, and designates that portion of the city lying between four intersecting streets. Indeed, the Court goes even further than this, and requires that the saloon-keeper must obtain the written consent of a majority of the property-owners on both sides of the four streets bounding the block. The ground upon which the Court defends this extreme interpretation is the eminently sound principle that a dram-shop affects the character and value of all the property in the vicinity, and whether or not the soundness of this principle is a sufficient justification for the Court's interpretation of the ordinance, the owners of real estate in the residence districts in Chicago feel that additional protection has been given to their property against damage from liquor-dealers. In New York the two important excise measures before the Legislature both avow the principle of local option. One is that proposed by the Anti-Saloon League, extending to cities and to election districts within cities the right to vote to close the saloons; and the other is that approved by the Municipal Reform Committee, extending to the voters of each borough the right to decide whether the saloons may legally sell during certain hours on Sunday. Each of these measures is severely criticised by the partisans of the other, on the ground that the local option offered is distinctly one-sided. The Anti-Saloon bill, it is objected on the one side, offers only an option to close saloons on the days they are now open, and the Committee's bill, it is objected on the other, offers only an option to

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open them on the day they are now supposed to be closed. Both of these objections will doubtless have weight with the Legislature, which has rural as well as urban constituencies to reckon with, and apparently the only hope of immediate legislation lies in the possible willingness of both sides to accept without reserve the local option principle, and allow every community to deal with its saloons as it deems best. Whatever the immediate effect of such a policy, its ultimate effect will be the awakening of the entire public upon the saloon question.

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The Grand Jury on the Tunnel Disaster

Indignation has been expressed in several quarters at the action of the New York Grand Jury, which has indicted Wisker, the engineer of the train which crashed into another in the New York Central tunnel on January 8, with resulting loss of life, but has not indicted the officers or directors of the road. As to Wisker's degree of negligence or incompetence a petit jury will determine, and the Grand Jury has not passed upon his defense; public opinion, however, it may be added, will hold the railway company morally responsible if it placed an incompetent or inexperienced man in charge of scores of lives. As to the non-indictment of the officials, it must be remembered that a corporation cannot be criminally indicted as a body, and that its officers are individually liable, criminally, only if positive criminal acts or criminal negligence can be proven against them as individuals. It is clear from District Attorney Jerome's remarks that he had little hope of remedying the conditions in the tunnel by criminal prosecution of its officers, and he has been warm in his eulogy of the personnel and intelligence of the Grand Jury. As a rule, it is true that a Grand Jury acts with a knowledge of the fact and the law which newspapers and the public generally cannot have. The failure to indict the officials, moreover, does not mean that there is no remedy. Mr. Jerome has said: "If the railroad company is not conducting its business in a proper manner, the Railroad Commission has adequate power to make it do so." It may be added that if the Commission has not the power, the Legislature has. The remedy is in legislative or municipal action rather than in criminal prosecution. The State or the city of New York can and must determine whether life is threatened or a nuisance and danger maintained in the tunnel, and apply quick and drastic measures.

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Prince Henry's Visit

The visit of Prince Henry of Prussia continues to give the American people pleasant impressions of the German Emperor's brother as a sensible, appreciative, and kindly disposed guest, while on his part the Prince has had capital opportunities for seeing American life in striking phases and aspects. Thus, last week on Monday he was greeted at Washington by the President, was the guest of honor at a great state dinner, received and paid calls of ceremony, was loaded with all the social and official attentions possible; while later in the week on his return from Washington he had an unusual opportunity of witnessing a dignified Congressional ceremony when he attended the McKinley Memorial Services at the Capitol and listened with evident interest to Secretary Hay's remarkable address, of which we speak elsewhere. The Prince's Washington experiences were varied by visits to Mount Vernon and Annapolis, and by a long horseback ride with the President. At New York, despite the inclement weather, the launching of the Emperor's yacht Meteor III. was accomplished with success in the presence of a distinguished company, and with many cheerful exchanges of compliments and good wishes between the Presidential and Royal parties; Miss Roosevelt with a silver hatchet cut the rope that actually started the launching, and christened the boat with the usual ceremony and in the name of the Emperor. A gala night at the opera followed. Less spectacular, perhaps, but more impressive, were two dinners given in New York in the Prince's honor, at one of which nearly a hundred "captains of industry"—men eminent in the practical achievements of finance, manufactures, or invention—were present with their guests, while the other was given by the "Staats Zeitung," the best known American German newspaper, and a thousand editors of newspapers were among

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the invited guests. At this latter dinner Prince Henry spoke with tact, ease, and point. The Southern and Western journey began as the week ended, and all along the line of the railroad a cordial reception met the royal visitor.

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MM. d'Estournelles, Mabilleau, and Le Roux

The presence of Prince Henry in this country is hardly a more notable event than is the presence here of three distinguished Frenchmen, animated by the same desire which also animates the Prince—the establishment of more intimate relations between Europe and America. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant is best known in this country as a member of the Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague; in his own land he is best known as one of the most prominent members of the French Chamber of Deputies. His visit here follows appropriately after his work in France in establishing committees throughout that country to instruct citizens regarding the remarkable social, industrial, and commercial development on this side of the Atlantic. He believes that there is a need for a greater cognizance on the part of France of our progress, and hence he has asked French universities, Chambers of Commerce, and large manufacturing establishments to send young men to this country to study our institutions; he is now asking our universities, Chambers of Commerce, and manufacturing establishments to send young men to France that they may come in contact with the people and learn the methods of production in vogue there. He believes that his plan, in order to be successful, must be reciprocal.——M. Léopold Mabilleau, who is now delivering lectures on French contemporary society in various American cities, is a foremost French authority on Socialism. Some time ago M. Mabilleau became the right-hand man of the late Count de Chambrun, the great philanthropist and founder of the Musée Social. In his capacity as director of the Musée, M. Mabilleau has for some years been federating the 15,500 workingmen's Mutual Aid Societies in France, comprising three million members. M. Mabilleau was also either president, vice-president, or secretary of the numerous congresses which distinguished the Paris Exposition of 1900. He has written numerous works which have deservedly had wide reading.——The Hyde lecturer this year at Harvard is M. Hugues Le Roux, the well-known Parisian journalist, explorer, and civil engineer. M. Le Roux will also speak in a number of our principal cities. He is one of the most entertaining of talkers and writers, particularly concerning his exploit of two years ago in Abyssinia, a trip undertaken partly for his own interest and partly for that of the French Government. As England had been endeavoring to gain a concession from King Menelek to construct a railway from Zeila, an English seaport on the Red Sea coast, to Abbis Ababa, the Abyssinian capital, the French Government conceived it to be of the utmost importance to itself that the English should not build the road. M. Le Roux finally succeeded in getting the concession himself from the King; and the railway, now under way, instead of running from an English seaport to the Abyssinian capital, will run thither from the French port of Jibuti.

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Marconi's Latest Triumph

A new and convincing proof of the possibilities of long-distance wireless telegraphy was furnished on the voyage of the steamship Philadelphia, which brought Mr. Marconi to New York last Saturday. Actual messages (as distinguished from mere signals) were received from the station at Poldhu, in Cornwall, when the ship was a little over 1,550 miles from that station. This remarkable feat exceeds by a thousand miles all previous records for the transmission of actual messages. Mr. Marconi also received on the Philadelphia signals, consisting of the repetition of the telegraphic letter S, at a distance of 2,099 miles from Cornwall. This distance is about the same as that between the stations in Cornwall and in Newfoundland, at which latter place the same signal was received two months ago. Not only does the reception of these messages prove beyond doubt that what was claimed for transoceanic transmission of signals last December was certainly correct, but it goes a long way to confirm Mr. Marconi's claims that commercial use of the wireless system for sending messages

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across the ocean is quite possible in the near future. Moreover, there was a most interesting and important demonstration of the fact that messages can be sent by this system in such a way that they shall be received only by one station and not be liable to interception elsewhere by other stations. Mr. Marconi in this trial employed his newly perfected apparatus by which the instruments for sending and receiving are, as it were, tuned to a certain key with regard to the oscillation of the electric waves. The messages sent to the Philadelphia by this method were received by no other ship. Another vessel was well within the radius of transmission, and was even nearer to Cornwall than the Philadelphia when messages were transmitted. This ship had its wireless receiving instruments in condition and open to receive messages, and if it had not been for the keying of the instruments it undoubtedly would have received the messages which reached the Philadelphia alone. Mr. Marconi will proceed at once to establish sending stations at Cape Breton Island and at Cape Cod, similar to but more powerful than the station in Cornwall. He thinks that it will take only a few months to complete the work, and that then there is every reason to expect that messages may be sent from either side of the Atlantic to the other. Meanwhile the power at the Cornwall station will be greatly increased, and Mr. Marconi does not hesitate to say that, as the sending of messages regularly and safely is governed by the power at the stations, the commercial transmission of messages can be expected to begin as soon as the new stations are completed and the Cornwall station strengthened. An interesting possible application of the wireless system is suggested by Mr. Marconi when he says that, with powerful instruments, two war-ships guarding the American coast, one at New York and the other at Colon, could communicate with each other.

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The Student Convention at Toronto

The Fourth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement, held at Toronto last week, showed the growing strength as well as the steady enthusiasm which has marked the Movement from the beginning. Its significance is more apparent if a comparison is made of the ignorance and indifference which twenty years ago prevailed in American colleges toward Christian missions with the conditions now existing. An index of these was the attendance at Toronto of twenty-six hundred delegates from nearly eight hundred institutions, including both students and members of Faculties—nearly twice the number represented at the Cleveland Convention in 1898. Mr. John R. Mott, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, whose recent work among students in Japan The Outlook reported December 28, fitly described the Toronto meeting as illustrating the hold of Christianity on the higher schools of learning, and as "representing the coming Christian leadership of the United States and Canada." It was, he said, a mighty challenge to the anti-missionary spirit, which had raised its head because of the terrible convulsions in northern China. By its inclusion of over fifty branches of the Church it also accented the essential unity of the Church. A noticeable feature of these conventions is the intermingling of older and younger men, conspicuous leaders of the churches with the active membership of the Movement, and the resulting blend of sobriety and enthusiasm which characterizes the whole. Bishop Sweatman referred to the cordial approval bestowed by the Anglican Conference at Lambeth, and regarded the idea of the Student Volunteers as "a splendid inspiration." Principal Caven, of Toronto, said that it was vindicated by "the telling and powerful influence it exerted on the religious life of the higher institutions of learning." Mr. Wishard, of New York, Chairman of the Young People's Forward Movement, said that it had spread into all the countries of Europe, besides portions of Asia and Africa. In the University of Madras, India, a thousand students had joined it. In all, not less than five thousand students had devoted themselves to the cause.

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The Students' Watchword

"The Evangelization of the World in this Generation," a watchword severely criticised in the earlier stages of the

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Movement, has secured a very large acceptance now among leaders of mission societies as well as among the student volunteers. Within the past two years Mr. Mott's little book upon it has been translated into German, Norwegian, Swedish, and is about to appear in French and Japanese. This motto, displayed before the densely crowded audiences at Toronto, naturally raised the question, Why not? The rapid growth of the movement inspired by it, now represented by the World's Student Federation, with its fifteen hundred distinct organizations and seventy thousand members, adds hopefulness to the question, *Why not?* The glow of this great hope warmed the great assemblies morning and evening at Massey Hall, the overflow meetings simultaneously held in churches, the sectional conferences on special topics held in the afternoons, eight or nine at the same hour. Much encouragement for it appeared. During the last eight years twice as many students have gone into missionary fields as during the first eight years, dating from 1886. Nearly two thousand have already sailed. It is felt, however, that only a small beginning has been made compared with the apparent possibilities. The number of students now engaged in the mission studies that have been organized has doubled since 1898, but the five thousand thus enrolled are but a fortieth part of the student body on this continent. A great deal is confessedly waiting to be done in organizing a more active interest in churches and Sunday-schools. Measures for an enlargement of this work were taken. Four additional Secretaries are to be put into the field, and three-fourths of the increased expenses of the next four years was collected or pledged upon the spot. Fifteen missionary boards are said to be calling for an immediate reenforcement of not less than two hundred. So careful, however, is the sifting that aims to send forth only the fully qualified that it is doubtful if the full number now called for are available. This is in part due to the past backwardness of the churches, sixty per cent. of whose membership, said Dr. Goucher, of Baltimore, have been non-contributors. For the needed enlargement of interest this "largest gathering of Christian university men in the history of the world," as it was called, can hardly fail to be influential. The addresses of such veterans as Bishop Thoburn, of India, Drs. Ament and Gamewell, of China, the glowing words of Bishop Galloway, Secretary Robert E. Speer, President Capen, Dr. J. Ross Stevenson, and many others, were charged with lasting power. It was a great meeting, thoroughly devotional, thoroughly sane and natural.

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Leo XIII.'s Jubilee These are noteworthy days in Italy. On the same day when the young King opened Parliament the venerable Pope began the celebration of his Jubilee, it being the anniversary of the latter's election. Pope Leo was crowned March 3, 1878, hence Monday of this week saw the main celebration of the Jubilee, which is also his Golden Jubilee as a Cardinal and his Diamond Jubilee as a Bishop. On Sunday the Pontiff's birthday was duly observed. He was born in 1810. Seldom has any ruler, temporal or spiritual, attained so great an age, and only three Popes have ever reigned more than a quarter of a century. The rendering of the Te Deum in St. Peter's, opening the religious exercises of the Jubilee, is said to have been the most impressive religious service seen in Rome for years. It was conducted by Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, in the presence of twenty-four Cardinals, forty Archbishops and Bishops, many hundred delegates from religious associations, and a congregation of twenty thousand persons. The pontifical "Guarda Nobile" were also present in their full-dress uniforms, worn for the first time since 1870, since which date, it is well known, the Pope has called himself a "prisoner." His Holiness has been the recipient of deserved congratulations from all sides; indeed, one might add that he is the only Pope in recent centuries who, during his lifetime, has been honored by Christians of every name. Even the Protestant King Edward VII. sent Earl Denbigh to Rome with congratulations. This act pleased the aged Pontiff greatly; he also remarked to one well-wisher that his Jubilee had been made the brighter by an unexpected emphasis on the principle of marriage-sanctity, for

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which he had always contended, but especially in the Consistory of last December. Rather than approve of the Italian Government's Divorce Bill, Count Giusso had the day before left the Cabinet.

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The Italian Cabinet

The Italian Cabinet itself has now fallen, Signor Zanardelli, the Premier, having placed the resignations of himself and his colleagues in the King's hands. The Cabinet has held office exactly one year. The Prime Minister, a Radical and an eminent legal authority, has had the satisfaction of seeing his country advance as rapidly as in any year since the final unification of Italy. The immediate cause of the Cabinet's fall was a defeat which it received in the Chamber of Deputies, through the failure to elect the Government candidate, Signor Villa, as President of that body. Among ultimate causes, however, must be noted the discussion on the Divorce Bill. Referring to divorce, the King said in his speech from the throne: "In the relations of State and Church my Government intends to maintain strictly the separation of the civil from the spiritual authorities; to honor the clergy, but to confine them in their own domain; to extend unrestricted respect to religious liberty of conscience, but invincibly to preserve intact the prerogatives of civil power and the rights of national sovereignty." Victor Emanuel III. then referred to a more important piece of Government legislation. "To honor labor," said the King, "to fairly recompense and protect it, to improve the lot of those disinherited by fortune, are the aims of the newer civilization. If the Government and Parliament succeed in this direction, while safeguarding equally the rights of all classes, they will have accomplished a memorable work of justice."

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Gardiner, the Historian

Samuel Rawson Gardiner, who died at his home in Kent last week, in his seventy-third year, was the most eminent living English historian. Educated at Windsor and Christ Church, Oxford, he distinguished himself very early as a scholar of attainment and promise, devoting himself from the very beginning to historical research. The special period which he investigated, and the record of which he has left in a series of works which may be called, without exaggeration, monumental, was that of the Restoration and the Commonwealth. The immense mass of original documents of every sort relating to this period Mr. Gardiner examined with the most painstaking minuteness, exploring not only the main lines but the subterranean passages of a confused and difficult period in English history with English energy and with German patience. These researches bore fruit in a "History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief Justice Coke," "Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage," "England under Charles I.," "The Personal Government of Charles I.," "The History of the Great Civil War," "The History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate," and the admirable "Life of Cromwell." Mr. Gardiner had all the gifts of the scholar and the investigator, but he lacked the gift of literary style. This defect, however, was supplied in part by the directness and clearness of his narrative and its judicial impartiality. His summing up of the work, the character, and the significance of Cromwell is a masterpiece of erudition and of candid and dispassionate judgment.

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Henry G. Marquand

In a society like our own, art must depend very largely for encouragement upon the taste and generosity of private citizens, and the co-operation of men of culture and wealth is therefore of high importance in the development of the art spirit and the advancement of art interests in the United States. A typical citizen of this kind was Mr. Henry G. Marquand, who died at his home in New York on Wednesday of last week, in his eighty-third year. Mr. Marquand was born in this city, but was educated in Pittsfield, Mass., was early engaged in the management of large estates, became interested in architecture, and made himself so useful as an advocate of architectural reform in New York that he was elected the first Honorary Member of the American Institute of Architects. His business connections and enterprises were many, and New York shared largely in the fruits of his practical sagacity. His own home was a notable piece of domestic architecture,

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and was enriched by many art works of great value, both by old and modern painters. His gifts to museums were numerous, as were his gifts to education and to charity. Princeton received from him the Marquand Chapel, and to his generosity and that of his brother it was indebted for its gymnasium. Probably no man was more influential in establishing the Metropolitan Museum of Art than Mr. Marquand. His total gifts to the Museum are said to have exceeded twelve hundred thousand dollars; but as trustee, treasurer, and as president, his gifts of time, intelligence, strength, and influence to the Museum are not to be calculated in money. To him has been due in no small measure the rapid rise of the Museum to a foremost rank among the great art collections of modern times. Mr. Marquand was a model citizen of a great metropolis.

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Christian Science in Germany

In this country the conviction has steadily gained ground that argument rather than suppression is the best way to deal with any difficulty. Americans therefore were surprised to learn recently that William II. had reverted to mediæval methods in regard to the spread of Christian Science in Germany. Many Germans do not dignify this cult by such a name. Instead, they call it "Eddyismus." In spite of opposition and prejudice, however, Christian Science has made considerable headway in the ranks of what may be called the upper middle class in Germany. It is believed that, in addition to the grievance conceived by the Emperor and by prominent officials in the Government, two important professional classes are assailed by the expositors of the new science—namely, clergymen and medical men. The action of the Emperor, however, in declaring that persons taking part in the doings of Christian Scientists, faith-healers, spiritualists, or other occultists, should not be admitted to the Imperial Court or to any halls under its control, will probably do more to arouse interest in the various beliefs and practices than would be obtained in any other way. This opinion is also held in Germany itself. Herr von Windheim, President of the Imperial Police, has already called the Kaiser's attention to the fact that repressive methods will prove merely an advertisement.

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The Philippine Problem

III.—Eventual Destiny

We have already stated to our readers what appears to us to be the immediate duty of Americans toward the Filipinos, namely, the restoration of peace and the establishment of order, that a government may be organized, an election held, a popular assembly convened, and so an opportunity afforded us to determine both what the Filipino people desire and what are their political abilities. There is a great deal of discussion on the question whether the Filipinos desire independence and what kind of independence they desire. Why not ask them? But we cannot ask them until provision is made for a popular election by means of which representatives can be convened to express their desire. There is a great deal of discussion on the question whether they are able to organize and maintain representative institutions. Why not give them a trial? But a trial cannot be given without the organization of a government and an election by means of which representatives can be convened in a popular assembly to try what they can do with representative government. Whatever delays this delays the ultimate solution of the Philippine problem.

As to that ultimate solution The Outlook has also expressed its opinion. That opinion is that there is something better to be desired for the Filipinos than independence—namely, a federation with the United States and under its sovereignty, upon a plan yet to be worked out in detail. It may help our readers to a clear understanding of the situation if they consider what are the five possible alternatives which present themselves to us and to the Filipino people. Some form of one or the other of these policies must be the ultimate result of our National action; no other appears to be conceivable. These five policies are represented by the five words subjugation, independence, protectorate, federation, statehood.

1. By subjugation we mean the government of the Filipinos by the United

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States, as of old the provinces were governed by Rome, as now conquered territory is governed by Russia, as the Philippines were governed by Spain, as the Crown Colonies are governed by England. These forms of government differ; but they are all alike in this, that the province is wholly subject to its conqueror; its interests may be regarded, but its wishes are not. This plan is sometimes imputed to those who advocate the retention of the Philippines; but it has been vigorously repudiated by both President McKinley and President Roosevelt. Isolated sentences, taken out of their connection, may perhaps be found to give color to the charge that some Americans entertain this plan; but if it has any advocates, they are so few and so uninfluential that the plan need not be seriously considered. Substantially all Americans will agree with Dr. Schurman that the American people will never consent to hold permanently in subjugation a reluctant people.

2. By independence we mean what the word means: "The state of being exempt from dependence upon another." We mean by independence that as soon as a government is organized by the Filipinos themselves, the United States will take down its flag, relinquish its sovereignty, and sail away, leaving the Filipinos to take care of themselves. We do not think this plan is any longer seriously proposed by any one. We do not understand that any Filipino of prominence has expressed a desire for it. Judge Taft is reported to have declared that he knows no party in the archipelago which invites it. Aguinaldo at one time distinctly disavowed this policy, and there is no reason to suppose that he has ever changed his mind. The result of such a policy would be to leave a people, without an army or the means to equip one, to protect itself against the savage tribes upon its borders; without a navy or the means to provide one, to protect itself against other nations; without money or credit, to deal with the Friar problem; without either means or leaders, to organize a public-school system. This plan may also be dismissed without further consideration. If any of our readers wish to see the objections to it stated more in detail, we refer them to The Outlook for February 1, 1902, page 261.

3. We may allow the Filipinos to form their own government, and, when they have done so, we may extend over them an American protectorate, in either one of two forms: we may warn all foreign nations that the Filipinos must be left alone to work out their own destiny, or we may go further and guarantee them a republican form of government as against domestic insurrection and revolution, but, in either case, without exercising any authority over their government or its acts. Neither plan appears to us to be practicable. In our judgment, the American people will never consent to assume the responsibilities of guardianship for a people five thousand miles away, without possessing the powers of a guardian. They will not do this because they ought not to do this. We cannot guarantee the Filipinos against foreign intervention while exercising no authority over their foreign policy, nor guarantee them against domestic insurrection while disavowing the right to prevent governmental action which would make the insurrection just. On this subject we cannot do better than quote the words of Dr. Schurman: "The idea of a protectorate entertained by the insurgent leaders, under which they should enjoy all the powers of an independent sovereign government, and the Americans should assume all obligations to foreign nations for their good use of these powers, would create an impossible situation for the United States. Internal dominion and external responsibility must go hand in hand."

We are not forgetful of the fact that advocates of this plan defend it upon the ground that it is simply an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. In our judgment, such an extension is wholly out of the question. The Monroe Doctrine was justified at the time, not as a quixotic endeavor to stand sponsor for infant nations while they worked out as best they might their own destiny, but as a necessary measure of self-protection against the avowed purpose of the Holy Alliance in Europe to put an end to republicanism and restore Bourbonism everywhere. America said in effect, when it was proposed to extend this crusade on behalf of despotism to the American continent, that any endeavor to fulfill such a purpose in South America would have to reckon on the opposition

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the United States; and it said so ause any such attempt, if successful in ıth America, would threaten the integ- of the United States. To undertake forbid Germany and England from ıblishing colonies on the other side of globe because we think independency ıld be better for the people than colo- lism would be arrogating to ourselves a itical wisdom which would hardly be ıured and assuming a naval and mili- power which would cost us much if assumption were ever put to the test. sponsibility and authority necessarily together.

. We may comply with the petition the Federal party, organize the Philip- es at once as a Territory, and promise tehood hereafter. The difficulties in way of admitting the Filipinos to an al share with the American people in government of the American Republic, hat they would help to elect our Sena- , our Representatives, and our Presi- t, are insuperable. This is not at the sent time seriously proposed by any in America, and need not be seri- ly discussed by an American journal. give to the Filipinos self-government ne thing; to invite them to help govern s quite another.

. The only alternative that remains hat presented in The Outlook last k: such an arrangement between the pinos and the American people as will ure to the Filipinos local self-govern- ıt substantially as it is exercised by people in all Territories of the United es, and the advantage of belonging to reat world power, whose credit will them industrial advantages in escap- from their poverty, whose protection insure them alike from the danger of ırrection at home and invasion from ɔad, and whose authority and guidance lead them along the path of self- elopment free from the blunders and delays which undirected and unin- cted inexperience are sure to involve. s, it is evident, is neither subjugation independence; it is not Statehood, ause it gives the Filipinos no share in erning the United States; it is more ı a protectorate, because it gives to United States the same final authority, ıin clearly defined lines, which it pos- es over existing Federal Territories.

One or two correspondents have asked us to give from history some instances of communities which have rendered this kind of service to other communities. There are no such instances. This is an endeavor to do for a community what no other nation ever before attempted to do. But that is no reason why it should not be attempted now. The notion that nothing is ever to be attempted in the future except what has been successfully achieved in the past is common, but it is a notion fatal to all progress. The same kind of conservatism might have asked Luther to point to one or two instances in history of a church successfully maintained on the basis of the right of private judgment; or Henry VIII. to mention an epoch in the English Church when it was successfully carried on in independence of the Pope; or the Pilgrims to specify the case of a successful migration to form in a wilderness "a church without a bishop and a state without a king;" or the signers of the Declaration of Independence to mention two or three republics which had been successfully organized on a basis of popular sovereignty expressed through a popular suffrage.

Why should not the United States now determine and announce to the Filipinos and to the world which of these alternatives it will adopt as its theory of the ultimate destiny of the Filipino people? To this question Mr. Talcott Williams in a recent article in the Philadelphia "Press" gives the following terse reply:

> What the future may bring no one can tell. "Never" is no word for statesmen. Many solutions exist—territorial administration, autonomous but related colonies, a federation on the Australian plan, independence with a close tie—not necessarily a protectorate—with the United States. Any or none of these things may be. No one in responsible place is pledged for or against any of them, or would accept even this list as exhausting the list of possibilities. The future must not be mortgaged. All energy must be bent now to bringing the time when this decision can be made; and when it is, these factors will decide it—the United States, the inhabitants of the Philippines, Moro as much as Tagal, and the international conditions of East Asia.

With this statement The Outlook absolutely agrees. We think it is always a mistake for a nation, as it is generally a mistake for an individual, to pledge itself

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at one time and under one set of circumstances as to what it will do in a future time and under a different set of circumstances. We think it would be a great mistake for the United States to make any such pledge now. It has declared in most explicit terms, through President McKinley and President Roosevelt, that, to quote the words of the latter, "we hope to do for them [the Filipinos] what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of really free nations." More explicit repudiation of any purpose of subjugation it is impossible to fashion. With this noble aim kept steadily in view, America is to go forward to the realization of her dream, which is not subjugation, but first protection, next education, and finally federation in a fraternity under American sovereignty which will give to the Philippine State no share in governing the people of the United States, but will give to the Filipino-American all the individual liberty, all the local self-government, and all the safety which are enjoyed by the German-American, the Irish-American, or any other American, native or naturalized.

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The Social Evil[1]

The final report of the Committee of Fifteen, which last year had in hand the exposure and abatement of official complicity with vice in New York City, constitutes a volume of supreme moral interest to serious men and women all over the world. It is in no sense a local report, except that the members of the Committee have used their knowledge of conditions in New York to guide them in their searching analysis of the world's experience with the traffic in vice and to make more impregnable the conclusions to which this analysis has led them.

The first portion of the report is a compact history of the vice of prostitution and the efforts of European Governments to check the revolting physical evils resulting from it. This part of the investigation was made for the Committee by Mr. Alvin S. Johnson, of Bryn Mawr College. In the review of the past i brought out very sharply that prostitut has been distinctively a vice of civili society. "Barbarous and semi-barbar peoples have at times been free from it. But no sooner has a people attained a m erate degree of civilization than this so curse has fallen upon it." Still more tinctively, it is pointed out a little la prostitution has been and is the vice cities. The reason for this last, in opinion of the Committee, is the deve ment of luxury in the cities, the conc tration therein of unmarried men able maintain current standards of luxury vided they remain unmarried, and weakening of "the main external ch upon a man's conduct—the opinion of neighbors, which has such a powe influence in the country or small tow "In the cities," it is pithily said, " has no neighbors," and there is no dc that this fact exercises the influe to which the Committee calls attent It also exercises another influence evil which is perhaps as well worth note. In the ancient world, the Commi observes, the prostitute was "a slave; the mediæval world the prostitute was alien." In the modern world, they m have added, the prostitute is a mem of a social class looked upon as ser or alien by the classes above it and e by its own members. It is the absenc such a social caste in our white rural tricts that keeps them so free from evil of prostitution, rather than men's of their neighbors' judgments. The r districts with a black or a socially graded white working class have no freedom. Our few cities, also, that practically free from the evil of pros tion are cities in which the social equ of the people is pre-eminent and no exists whose young women can be n prostitutes without an appalling sens the social degradation brought upon t As the Committee elsewhere recogn prostitution can be extirpated only the elevation of the ranks of society w now furnishes the women victims.

The history of prostitution as an ol of legislation is outlined by the Comm briefly as follows: "Of the ancient tions, . . . the Hebrews alone unders that prostitution is itself a serious e The Jewish legislation was "repressi

[1] *The Social Evil: With Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York.* A Report prepared under the direction of the Committee of Fifteen. 188 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1902.

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t of Greece and Rome merely "regula-
." As the corruption of the ancient
ld increased, the Roman regulation
ıe to aim chiefly at "the collection of
enue from the earnings of the public
stitute." "This end," however, "was
ndoned when a higher type of imperial
hority realized the dishonor of public
ring in infamous gains," and "under
Christian Emperors repressive laws
e enacted." In the early Middle Ages
Teutonic nations pursued a sternly
ressive policy; but by the tenth cen-
r the prostitute was openly tolerated,
in the centuries immediately follow-
her trade was legalized and even fos-
d, under the false view that the estab-
ment of vicious resorts supplied with
n women preserved the purity of native
ıen and satisfied the vicious impulses
ch were merely stimulated. There was
at this period a return to the Roman
cy of using prostitution as a fiscal
ırce. "Even the Church," says the
ort, "did not stick at such revenues."
result of all this hardly needs to be
ırded. "Society as a whole became
upt. . . . An epidemic of syphilis
ad over Europe, assuming, as the
lt of the general immorality, the pro-
ions of a world plague." Under the
ıence of these evils the prostitute
e again to be regarded as a criminal.

policy of repression was again
ɔted, and during much of the fifteenth
sixteenth centuries licensed houses
pretty generally closed.

When public regulation was again intro-
ed, it was with the distinctive purpose
amping out the diseases which every-
re attend vice. The governments
h have pursued this policy, however,
not often reverted to the later medi-
policy of recruiting alien victims for
vices of their subjects, and have as a
tried to exercise a moral as well as
nitary control over the traffic. The
ends, however, the Committee reports,
been found to be conflicting, and
e the moral police has been a separate
from the sanitary police there has
an ineradicable antagonism. The
l work of one bureau has generally
ıed a positive evil to the other. It is
sanitary regulation which has been
ial, for it is this which has received
hief emphasis, and it is this which
has been so sedulously championed in the name of science, though opposed by the moral instincts of serious people. It is the Committee's examination of the evidence upon this matter which gives this report its supreme value.

The evidence in favor of the system of sanitary regulation—which everywhere includes the periodical medical examination of prostitutes and certification of those free from disease—is given with the utmost fullness and fairness. There is no attempt to appeal to the repugnance which the system arouses in normal minds. The system has been urged on purely scientific grounds, and the evidence in its favor is considered in a purely scientific temper. The most striking portion of this evidence is in the results recorded in the twelve military stations in Great Britain at which the system was tried while the Contagious Diseases acts were on the statute-books. These returns showed a net reduction of thirty per cent. in the prevalence of the less dangerous forms of disease, and a net reduction of five per cent. in the prevalence of the most dangerous form. The Committee does not even suggest that these returns were collected by medical officers in favor of the system on trial. It merely points out with strong common sense that the gain effected is seen to be slight, when it is recalled that the prostitutes unable to undergo a trying examination without the prospect of hospital confinement had every reason to go to other places where the examinations were not in force. These stations for hardened soldiers and sailors, it is furthermore observed, were the places of all others least likely to exhibit the corrupting effects of the official certification of the physical harmlessness of vice. A similar examination of the Continental evidence follows, which not only establishes the conclusion here reached, but shows that to-day the ablest scientific defenders of sanitary regulation admit that the statistics prove nothing on their side, because hardly more than a quarter of the prostitutes have even in Paris been willing to undergo examinations, because even these have been unwilling to undergo them more often than fortnightly, and—most surprising of all—because medical certification has not been found to guarantee health even at the time of the examination. "Twenty

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years ago," says the report upon this last point, "it was only the moralist who knew nothing of medicine who dared to connect venereal disease with registered prostitution. It is difficult to find a single competent writer of the present day who does not deplore the imperfections of the system as it exists, and who does not admit that registered prostitutes are responsible for a vast amount of venereal infection." Thus the scientific case for sanitary regulation has broken down completely—even by the test of experience in Europe, where public sentiment tolerates the moral conceptions on which the licensing system is founded, and where public sentiment tolerates the police control over individuals through which the enforcement of regulation seemed possible. For America the system would be foredoomed to disgraceful failure even on the sanitary side, while on the moral side it would teach young men to accept a false and corrupting view respecting the legitimacy of vice. The moral instincts of our people have led us aright in rejecting with loathing the whole proposition to make vice safe by preserving the health of the body at the cost of promoting the corruption of the soul.

Having thus demonstrated what should not be done, the Committee proceeds with the same strong common sense and moral sense to indicate what should be done. The rule which the Committee lays down is that the community should neither legislate as if the ideal could now be established, nor legislate as if the ideal could never be established. It must keep in mind both the actual and the ideal, and do nothing which does not take hold of actual conditions and press them toward the ideal. Upon one point the Committee is willing to join with the partisans of sanitary regulation, for upon one point these partisans do not sacrifice moral ends to physical ends. The Committee recommends ampler hospital provisions for women suffering from contagious disease, because the curing of them is a dictate of humanity. But it would at least try to have this cure result in restoring the women to right living, and not in restoring them certificated for a life of shame. The Committee would also exclude prostitution from the category of crimes, not because it favors laxer moral judgment, but because the unenforceable penalt for crime put "a whip in the hands the blackmailer." Corruption in t police force, it says, can never be ext pated until the prolific source of it stopped. Yet, while it holds that priv vice cannot now be prevented by pub law, it demands that every public ma festation of vice be suppressed with t utmost rigor. Such public manifes tions transform the vice into a cri which present public sentiment will sust public officials in punishing as a crir Wherever prostitution shows itself so to attract the attention of neighbc whether in tenement-houses or apartme houses or on the streets, it must repressed. Along with these repress measures the Committee recommends better housing of the poor, better me of social entertainment for all class better wages for workingwomen, a better moral education for people every rank. These are surely lines al which a united public sentiment may pr forward the work of reform.

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Two Notable Address

The great increase of students of scie in recent years, out of all proportion v the increase of students in the liberal a has been to many people alarming. enlargement of the field of learning made it necessary for every scientific dent to be in some degree a specialist; that has meant that, with the gen broadening of the field of knowledge, individual's field of knowledge has versely become narrower. The dar lest, out of this specialization, a narr unsympathetic, and dogmatic type of m should be formed, has been and stil very real. There is no dogmatist sc tense as the scientific dogmatist. bigotry of the reactionary has alre been matched by the bigotry of the cialist. The character of scientific cation has not yet been finally determir it is now in its formative period. It i this most critical time that Dr. Henr Pritchett has become President of Massachusetts Institute of Technol it is at this time that he is stamping scientific education of the future with impress of his own mind. Those

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re more for truth than for facts, more wisdom than knowledge, more for ducation" than for "training," will d in Dr. Pritchett's address, published ewhere in this number, an indication what scientific education, so far as Dr. itchett can control it, will become.

To the right solution of every moral oblem the two qualities which Dr. itchett describes—moral earnestness d mental clearness—are indispensable. ey are necessary to that combined rcefulness and poise of character which absolutely essential to the solution of ir National problems. This result Senor Albert J. Beveridge reaches, though a different road, in a notable address ich he delivered in Chicago on Washgton's Birthday. The distinctive charteristic of Washington, he said, was not triotism, courage, or resource, all of ich were characteristic of the Ameri-n, but moderation. "He was poise rsonified. He was the spirit of discine. He was the Great Conservative. was this that made all other elements the Revolution effective." He had is poise, we may add, because he had mbined the moral earnestness and the ental clearness which Dr. Pritchett has well described. This poise is perhaps e quality to-day most needful in Amera. The American people are vital and asterful, but are they reserved and modate? "Not yet," says Senator Beveridge, "but growing in that grace. And erefore, on this his day, I bear you the essage of Washington—he whose sany, orderliness, and calm have reached rough the century, steadying us when tamed passions of riotous youth had all it reached the climax of chaos."

The need of this poise, and what its fect will be when we have attained it, enator Beveridge illustrates by reference certain of our great National problems, ich as trusts, labor organizations, tariff adjustments, colonization. We are not be startled at the great organizations of bor and capital. "They may be benefint or they may be malevolent, but enunciation, hasty action, conclusions hich are jumped at instead of being ought out, are no proper test. . . . We e fond of saying that in a republic each tizen is a king. But saying so does ot make it so. Each of us can be a king, and therefore the Nation itself clothed with majesty as no people ever were arrayed; but only by each citizen acting as a king should act, thinking as a king should think—steadily, calmly, with balanced judgment and well-considered action." So in our tariff readjustment we are not to be controlled by the hysteria of precedent or the hysteria of alarm. "Tariff merely for protection is no fetish; tariff for mere revenue is no god. No system of taxation is sacred. It is merely a means to an end or many ends. It is not an end in itself. . . . Yesterday we made little we did not want ourselves, and so the 'Home Market' was then the word of economic truth; and that word spoke into life a system of protection as perfectly fitted for its purpose as ever the mind of man devised." But conditions have changed. The home market is no longer adequate. We must enter, in competition with other nations, the markets of the world. "As the 'Home Market' was the word of wisdom in its season, so 'Foreign Markets' is the word of wisdom now." The same spirit will enable us to solve the problem expressed by the word Expansion. Local self-government is a means, not an end. The end is the general prosperity of the people. "If Philippine conditions require Filipino self-government, self-government we will give the Filipinos because it is wise. If legislative participation in their government is permitted by Porto Rican conditions, we will give the Porto Ricans that because it is wise. If Cuban conditions require American suzerainty, we will maintain that because it is wise; if annexation, we will accomplish that because it is wise; if utter separation, that shall be done because it is wise." Whatever course we pursue, we must never forget that, in the problem presented by our dependencies, "patience is the word of power and of success. A race cannot be transformed over night. The methods of three centuries cannot be remedied between sunrise and sunset. The character of a people is not to be altered even by the school-teacher's priceless work in a season or a year. Let us not be in haste."

We conceive no message to be more needed by American democracy than the message which these two men—President

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Pritchett and Senator Beveridge—have given to the American people. Their points of view are different, their temperaments are different, their method of expression is different; but both point alike to patience of enthusiasm, to self-restrained earnestness, to clearness of vision and strength of purpose—in a word, to that poise which is as essential to the well-being of a nation as of an individual. The text which needs to be writ large in the counsels of America is, "Let your moderation be known unto all men."

❀

Taxing Art

The petition of a group of representative American artists that the tariff on works of art should be repealed is opportune, and ought to be favorably acted upon at once. The tax cannot be defended on any ground. It is not only a hindrance to the free development of the Nation along the highest lines of its life, and a reproach to it in the eyes of the civilized world, but nobody in this country wants it. The artists have always opposed it, because, being men of intelligence, they have understood that art cannot be protected by taxation of any kind, and that, in the world of art, a tariff is an absurdity. Whatever may be said in behalf of protecting American labor or American manufacturers, nothing can be said in behalf of the theory of protecting American artists. If anything could be said, its force would be nullified by the fact that the artists themselves petition for the removal of this tariff. The public does not want it; it stands in the way, not of rich collectors of works of art chiefly, but of public museums and of the thousand educational enterprises which ought to have free access to art. The Government does not need it. The relatively small returns which are paid into the Treasury from the tax on art are of no importance to a rich country like our own. And this tax can be defended on the ground that art is a luxury only by ignorant people; for art is not and never has been in any true sense a luxury. It has always been a necessity in the higher life of the world, and it is to-day an urgent need in the fuller evolution of American genius and American taste. At the very moment when it is proposed to spen millions of money in order to make th Capital, by its beauty, its symmetry, an its intelligent ordering, expressive of th genius of the people and symbolical of it power, it is absurd to put a tax on th material with which the sense of beaut is gratified and by which the sense o beauty is educated.

Special urgency is given to this appea for the removal of the tariff on works o art by the relative situation of the Unite States and many foreign countries. Unde the best circumstances it is extremel difficult to secure first-class examples o the great masters of the past. They ar held in the large collections in Europe from which they will probably never b withdrawn, or by rich collectors, who par from them reluctantly and only in case of necessity. In order to secure the bes illustration of the art of the past in thi country, it is necessary to watch vigilantl the whole field of Europe, and to secur here and there by prompt information th knowledge of a possible sale of a master piece. The artists who sign this petitio call attention to the fact that, while th United States is at the flood-tide of th greatest prosperity in its history, man countries in the Old World are embar rassed financially, and works of art are nov being placed on the market which a fe years ago could not have been purchase at any price. In other words, this is th most favorable moment of our history t secure the works of a class which hav been hitherto almost entirely out of ou reach, and this is therefore the very mo ment when all barriers should be take down, and every effort made to make th most fruitful use of what may prove to b a brief opportunity.

The time has already come when stu dents in almost all departments of knowl edge can secure at home the advantage which were formerly to be found only i the foreign universities; if the time is eve to come when they can secure at hom the same training in art which for thirt years they have been seeking abroad, i must be brought in by the most generou encouragement of art, by removing ever barrier, and by affording every facility fo bringing to this country the best work o the best artists, and so accumulating her those representative collections which ar

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e most effective schools for artistic train-
g. There are many indications of the
e of something like a tidal movement to
ure and diffuse beauty in this country.
ere are the stirrings of the art spirit,
idenced in many quarters which prom-
e the most fruitful results in the near
ture. Our sculptors and painters have,
ring the past few years, produced work
striking originality and excellence.
e country is apparently on the thresh-
l of a new epoch in the development of
higher life. If Congress is wise, it
ll no longer permit an antiquated tax,
t on a luxury, but on the material of
vilization, to misrepresent us in the eyes
the world, and to interfere with the
tural exchange of works of art between
e Old World and the New.

❀

The Larger Community

The general interest in Prince Henry,
anifested in all kinds of hospitality
herever he has gone, and the celebration
the hundredth anniversary of the birth
Victor Hugo, under the auspices of
olumbia University, on Wednesday after-
oon of last week, are reminders of the
ct, which is being pressed home more
resistibly every year, that all men are
orn of one blood, that all nations are
kin, and that the ties which bind the races
gether are a thousandfold stronger than
e accidental geographical or historical
onditions or events which separate them.
erhaps the most striking fact in the twen-
eth century, when it is looked at two
enturies hence, will be a new kind of recog-
ition of the brotherhood of man—a recog-
ition which shall be actual, practical, and
uitful. In the face of the discouraging
spects of the society of to-day, this fact
iscloses itself more and more distinctly;
nd to those who look at things largely,
ith a desire to know the deeper tenden-
ies of the age, and not to be misled
y its noisier activities or its more obvious
ovements, nothing is more inspiring.
Whether men like it or not, in the face of
ong-cherished policies, the nations do
ove towards one another. Society is a
ong way off from anything like cordial
raternity; but historical influences are
t work, in combination with the interests
f trade, and the almost incalculable
modifications introduced into existing conditions by new methods of travel and new means of intercourse, which are playing havoc with old traditions, prejudices, and ignorance.

From this closer intercourse of nation with nation there are few things to be feared and everything to be hoped. Some picturesque aspects of life will disappear, but they will be replaced by things of far greater value in the spiritual and moral life of the race. Like a great deal of the charm of the Middle Ages, the picturesque aspects of life which are likely to be destroyed by freer intercommunication rest on isolation, on ignorance, on narrow ideals, and on petty local sentiment. They can well afford to be surrendered in exchange for freer intercourse, wider knowledge of the world, higher standards, and a new sense of friendliness.

There have been few periods in the history of this country so ominous to the mind of the far-seeing as that period of isolation, of a new growth of sectional and local feeling, out of which we have been moving with the greatest rapidity during the last five years. The idea, which gained ground at one time in large sections of the country, that America stood alone among the countries of the globe, and that a free development of the nation could be best effected in isolation and detachment; that it could form its own laws without regard to the interests of humanity or the experience of other races, would have led, if it had been persisted in, not only to great social and financial calamities, but to a lowering of American ideals, a deadening of the higher sensibilities of the American people, and a loss of American influence which would have been nothing short of a calamity of world-wide importance.

American ideals are not to be developed in isolation; they are of hardy growth, and need no hot-house protection. A tariff on ideas, knowledge, manners, and art would have meant the decline of the United States to a power of the third rank. Local pride and an intense national feeling are admirable if they are united with broad ideas and with a generous conception of the place of the community in the Nation and the place of the Nation in the world; but

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they are to the last degree deadening, dwarfing, and demoralizing if they are held in an exclusive sense. What Americans need is not isolation, but more intimate contact with their fellowmen; not the growth of a sense of superiority based on ignorance of what other men have done, but a clearer divination of their own ideals and purposes based on the knowledge of and respect for the ideals and purposes of every other race. This country could not have been what it has become if Europe had not wrought for it. Its political institutions were shaped out of the experience of half a dozen races, all of which contributed to its fundamental ideas; and for its governmental structure we owe a debt to England, Holland, and France, to go no further, for direct contribution to our political organization which can never be paid. Germany has laid us, as she has laid all other modern nations, under obligations which can never be discharged, for services to the spirit of man in every department of life; while all modern nations are alike the children and the debtors of Rome, Greece, and Judea.

A man best develops his conceptions of life, not in isolation, but in active relations with his fellows; a family fosters and nourishes its own ideals of family life, not by living unto itself, but by living in a larger community. In like manner the nation grows strong and great and individual, not by keeping at home, but by touching the world on many sides. Ignorance has never yet been the mother of sound principles or of wise methods. The practice which cannot stand comparison with other practices may well be given up. America is to secure and hold its place in the modern world by the superiority of its methods. It must learn the best and practice the best; and when it has learned the best and is practicing the best, its opportunity to serve humanity will be accurately measured by the freedom and the fullness of its contact with the other races of the world. In science, knowledge, art, invention, literature, and religion there are no race lines, except as a matter of definition and description. In the highest life of man there is unity of interest and of destiny. We shall do our work as a nation by development of our ideals in the free atmosphere of th world; our continent is not large enoug to contain our influence, nor are we to b great enough to sever connection with ou kin of every race beyond seas.

❀

The Spectator

The world progresses. The Spectato had occasion to consult the doctor th other day, for the first time in some year and was handed, not a prescription afte the old fashion, but a diet list after th new. His attention being thus personall conducted to the subject, he has sinc found a goodly number of similar lists i use among his friends and acquaintance The modern motto of medicine appears t be, indeed, "As a man eateth, so is he; and the doctor lays his weightiest stres on the daily dietary of the patient, an not upon his daily doses as of old. Th old woman who said, feebly, in forme days, "Leave the pills on the chimney piece, docther, and I'll take them when feel a bit betther!" was wiser than he generation. The period of pills is passing and diet dawns instead, in hopefully hyg enic hues, upon a welcoming world.

❀

Everybody is dieting to-day, appa ently—that is, everybody who can stan the expense. The poor, as a docto kindly explained to the Spectator, canno afford to diet, because they must eat wha they can get, and the whole household must, perforce, partake of practically th same meals. Pork and cabbage may no be hygienic for children of two years o age; but if pork and cabbage form th family dinner, the baby takes its chance with the rest. It is only among the wel to-do that one member of the household can have a certain particular brand o cereal food for breakfast, and another special form of bread made from prepare flour, and so on. It has always been on of the burdens of housekeeping (as a who have experience know too well) t have to provide for those who "hav simple tastes;" but the diet-list habit i tenfold worse than the most fastidiou simplicity of palate. "I might as we run a private sanitarium," complained on mother of a family the other day. "W

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have five different sorts of health food and three kinds of cocoa in the pantry, and the cook, who is justly proud of her hot bread and her coffee, is losing all patience with us. 'Shure, and they're gettin' so that hot wather'll be too sthrong for them,' I heard her say, with scorn, to the housemaid yesterday. ''Tis a sick-diet kitchen this is comin' to be, and no place for a gurrl that can make eleven kinds of cake!' I think she will leave us soon, and I don't blame her!"

❀

The Spectator sympathized, for he knew the family, and knew, therefore, how intensely its members, old and young, carried out whatever they undertook. Eleven hundred kinds of cake would never have tempted them when their faces were firmly set toward health food. Not theirs the yielding temper of another of the Spectator's dieting acquaintances, who has arranged a series of signals when dining out, by which his devoted wife, after tasting any delicacy not upon his list, notifies him whether it is worth breaking rules for, so to speak. Unfortunately, her judgment is not always unerring, and the signals sometimes get mixed, so that he has occasionally suffered many things from a dietetic transgression that was not worth the candle. The Spartan attitude of the first household is far more consistent; and the Spectator must own that they all seem better in health for their new departure in diet, however much it irritates the cook and saddens the mistress. And, in the end, things will doubtless work out well for housekeepers, even in relation to the cook, by lightening household labor. The most ignorant new cook usually knows how to boil water; and if human needs, in the breakfast line, can be reduced to health food and hot water, the millennium dawns broadly. The servant question is so largely a question of food that to simplify or abolish cooking would tend tremendously to solving it. The Spectator once had a friend who had lived in a hotel in a mining town in the West, where the proprietor required each guest, whenever a ball was given, to dance at least once with the cook, to keep that indispensable lady in good humor with her place. Such tyranny would be impossible—and unnecessary—if the camp were run upon pre-cooked health foods requiring no preparation to speak of—instantaneous cocoa, chopped raw beef heated to taste, raw eggs beaten up in milk, hygienic biscuits, and fruit, canned or fresh. Upon such a diet the guests could leave the cook to languish as a wallflower, and she would have no possible redress from the proprietor.

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To some minds, wedded to the fleshpots of Egypt, the foregoing bill of fare doubtless seems uninviting. But it is all in the point of view. Our remote ancestors, who ate oxen roasted whole, would not have liked a modern course dinner, and would have shuddered at a Continental breakfast. A diet list, to them, would have been worse than death. They dreamed of possessing Aladdin's lamp that they might feast at will; we have patented the Aladdin oven instead, and dream of perfect and economical combinations of protein, casein, carbo-hydrates, and all the other nutrients, in small bulk, to supply vital waste. The mince pie is fast fading from our firesides; the doughnut has retired to the rural districts; roast pig lives mainly in the pages of Elia, and plum cake is seldom seen by the modern child with up-to-date parents. "Meat three times a day" is the immigrant's ideal, but the native American is learning to lean towards vegetarianism instead. The Spectator is rather interested in a vegetarian restaurant that he passes now and then, and at which he has lunched more than once. The tables are usually well filled, and with well-looking people. What some of the dishes are made of the Spectator does not pretend to fathom; the croquettes, for instance, look like meat, and taste very like their conventional relatives at other restaurants; yet no fish, flesh, or fowl of any kind, he is assured, goes to their composition. Vegetarianism has its logic and its allurements; yet the Spectator cannot easily forget his first early impressions of it, when, as a boy, he lived within a block of a vegetarian sanitarium, established by a clever humbug of a quack doctor, who set his patients to work in the garden to raise the most of the vegetables and fruit which they afterward ate with an appetite sharpened by exercise. The women patients were put into a queer uniform of

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bloomers and frock coats, and very strange indeed they looked to the Spectator's youthful eyes as he peered through the palings. The doctor's wife, a patient, industrious, and most homely woman, wore the same costume, and did her marketing in it. Market day must have been a weekly martyrdom to her, but she bravely carried her basket of groceries through a gauntlet of stares, and made no sign. As for the doctor, he was seen every now and again, in the neighboring city, at a good restaurant, eating beefsteak by the plate and oysters by the dozen, but his patients never knew it, and went on obediently eating vegetable food without salt, as he ordained.

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Salt, indeed, seems to have incurred condemnation from the days of the Fourierites, one sect of whom had the curious and sweeping creed: "No God, no church, no government, no marriage, no meat, no money, no salt, no pepper." Salt and pepper, as well as meat, are thus classed among the firmest beliefs of the race. And certainly salt does seem a particularly hard thing to leave out of one's diet. So does sugar; so does bread. Yet there are resolute dieters who give up these things, one or all. The Spectator has one friend whose breakfasts, for a while, consisted of an apple, nuts, and hot water. This alluring combination, though solemnly prescribed by a physician of some reputation, did not, however, turn out a success—for which the Spectator felt thankful—for what a mockery of a meal it was! On the other hand, another friend, once a confirmed dyspeptic (for, as he mournfully put it, "the trouble with him was that everything he ate went straight to his stomach"), recovered his health on a regimen of his own, and forced his doctor to confess that the one thing that suited his patient's digestion was—sausage and buckwheat cakes for breakfast! For years, accordingly, sausage and buckwheat cakes have smoked upon his morning board, while dyspepsia is a thing of the past. And this vagary of diet is matched by a third case, in which absolutely no supper, for years, could be found to suit a certain patient except one of two things—bread and milk, or the richest of plum cake. The fact was ridiculous, but a fact it remained just the same—an oasis of joy in the grim desert of a dyspeptic's daily diet.

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Is diet a passing fad of the day, or will it survive and dominate the race? The indications seem to point the latter way. To solve the problem of nutrition is to solve the problem of disease. When under-feeding and over-feeding vanish, half the imps of Pandora's box will fly off after them, and hope will remain brighter than ever. Indeed, all that man has to do is to go to the ant—not to the bee—and see how magical the power of selected food may become. It is a commonplace of knowledge among bee-keepers that feeding, and feeding alone, makes the difference between worker and queen bee in the beginning, and that if the young queens be accidentally destroyed a fresh set can be immediately raised by the busy bee-nurses, who at once substitute royal food for the worker food given to the ordinary infants of the hive. Man has not yet learned the bee's secret, because he has been too busy experimenting upon outside affairs such as steam and electricity; but now that the attention of the race is once turned to diet, we may expect marvelous strides in this direction also. As the college athlete has learned to feed with a view to the laurels of the field, so the college orator may yet take a special course of diet for the valedictory—who knows? The Spectator has a fair cousin who confided to him the other day that she had learned to keep her weight at any point she desired, adding or subtracting pounds or even ounces at will by a careful use of certain foods. She further asserted that anybody could do likewise who was willing to take the requisite thought and pains. If this be true—and her demonstration was clear and convincing—why not height as well as weight, and shape as well as size? Why not, like "Alice in Wonderland," grow smaller and larger at will by eating this or that? Lewis Carroll's fancy may have been prophetic in its flight after all, and the two sides of his magic mushroom may prefigure the marvel-working diet lists of the twenty-first century, though they seem as impossible to-day as the telephone and the trolley would have appeared to our colonial ancestors.

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Victor Hugo

By Hamilton W. Mabie

[The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Victor Hugo, which fell on Wednesday of last week, was elaborately celebrated in Paris by imposing official ceremonies in the Pantheon and by the unveiling of a statue of the poet, and by recitations of Hugo's poems and addresses in many places. In this city appropriate exercises were held under the direction of Columbia University. Dr. Henry van Dyke presided, and read a very effective and spirited poem, while addresses were made by M. Mabilleau, the eminent French student of sociology and a distinguished member of the Institute of France, and by Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie, with appropriate readings from Victor Hugo's poems by Professor Adolphe Cohn. Mr. Mabie's address is printed in full below.—THE EDITORS.]

IN the year 1817 Victor Hugo's first work was given to the world; in 1836, in the pages of the "Revue de Paris," M. Nisard expressed his belief that "the literary death of M. Victor Hugo" was not only inevitable but close at hand; in 1885 his long activity came to an end, but in the year 1901 two volumes of characteristic prose from his hand were read for the first time. These facts are suggestive of the extraordinary span of the man's life, and of the extraordinary difficulty of measuring accurately his achievement and determining his place in modern literature. His personality was so striking and so disturbing, his association with the dramatic incidents of a stormy period so intimate, his espousal of great human interests so passionate, that it is impossible to separate the work from the man, the time, the movement, the emotion, and estimate it dispassionately. It is impossible, and it is therefore undesirable. Critical opinion of his art has been wide of the mark; it has made predictions of which there is no sign of fulfillment; in his case, as in the case of so many men of kindred vitality, it has made the mistakes which are inevitable when the attempt is made to deal with the work of a great personality by detaching it abruptly and violently from the fiery soul which it interprets; the gentle and slow-moving hand of time must effect that separation. Hugo belonged to a class of men who make sport of the sagacity of experts and havoc of their predictions—men like Voltaire, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoï, who are not only makers of books but molders of opinion, passionately involved in the movement of their age, identified with winning or losing causes, and loved and hated with equal intensity. The personal impress of men of tremendous or ardent individual force sometimes produces an effect out of all proportion to the essential truth or beauty of their art, and popularity far outruns fame. Writers of this temper stand so close to their fellows, interpret the spirit of the time with such emotion, and speak so directly in current speech to their contemporaries, that the world applauds and loves and follows and lets judgment go to the winds. In the reaction against this overpowering influence of the personality behind the work of art the critic, in the endeavor to rid his mind of extraneous impressions, often loses touch with the vital and determining qualities of the work which he studies; and so it has happened many times that what is sometimes called the mob has judged more wisely than the cool-minded and dispassionate expert.

After all qualifications are made, Carlyle remains, in one field at least, a consummate artist, Ruskin an immensely suggestive interpreter of nature and of art, Tolstoï a novelist of masterly grasp and skill, and Victor Hugo a literary force of the first order in poetry and of prodigious energy and deep significance in fiction and the drama. If Alfred de Musset, the sensitive and exquisite artist about whose work most men are agreed, is to be regarded in the future as the interpreter of the minor motives, the subjective experiences, of his time, Victor Hugo is likely to be accepted as the interpreter of its greater passions, its more dramatic emotions.

Victor Hugo was the most representative man of his time in France who used literature as a medium of expression. This is true beyond question if the opinion of the English-speaking peoples is regarded; it is measurably true also if French opinion is consulted, in spite of the unsympathetic attitude of the French

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critics as a class. He stands in the forefront, not only of the producers, but of the active men of his period. Born in 1802, he was already known as a poet in 1817; he has been called the poet laureate of the Restoration; he was a member of the Assembly before Napoleon III., invoking the magic of a great tradition, re-established the imperial throne; he was made a peer of France in 1845; in 1851 he was banished; he proudly rejected the amnesty which was offered him, and remained an exile until the fall of the Second Empire in 1870; a year later he was again in the Assembly; and five years later he was a member of the Senate.

This recital of the incidents of his public life conveys no impression of its tremendous energy, its fiery impetuosity, its tireless aggressiveness. It was a life of emotion rather than of thought; the career of a man of imagination possessed of Titanic vitality and the love of a great stage rather than of a man of political genius. It is significant as a part of the projection of Hugo's personality and as disclosing his amazing vitality—that characteristic quality of the man of genius. His productivity was on the scale of that of Shakespeare, Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, Balzac, Lope de Vega, Voltaire; but the literary molds into which he forced himself were not capacious enough to contain the vitality which drove him through life with a touch of demonic energy.

Hugo's life was not only public, prolific, representative; it was also intensely dramatic. Dominated and at times possessed by an imagination at once opulent, vivid, and unrestrained, he instinctively dramatized his own experience. Dealing only secondarily with ideas and primarily with emotions, incidents, persons, those deep stirrings of the human spirit which take the form of political and social movements, he dramatized life wherever he touched it by the law of his own nature, and gave striking objectivity to his inward experience. His heroes were never silent sufferers; they are always boldly staged. Publicity was essential to Victor Hugo; he needed an audience, and, like all men of dramatic temper, he was at his best only when he held the stage. He was at his worst also; his egotism reinforcing his dramatic instinct and at times, in the intoxication of the moment, making him melodramatic and theatrical. This quality, however, though it sometimes made his speeches flamboyant, caught and held public attention, and contributed in no small measure to his immediate popularity. This strong infusion of the dramatic in Hugo's nature gave his characteristic qualities striking and even imposing expression; it served also to throw his weaknesses into bold relief. It is interesting to note that the defects of his mind and of his art were essentially foreign to the French temper and tradition. There was something foreign in the exuberance of his imagination, the profusion and prodigality of his use of material, the lack of co-ordination and restraint which often marred and disfigured his work. He is curiously lacking in some of the prime qualities of the French mind; in the sense of order, proportion, balance, restraint, which give French literature its unique coherence, symmetry, and unity. That fine and just application of logic to art, made, not by the use of hard and fast rules, but by a sensitive temperament, which has made French literature at its best so admirable an illustration of reason expressed in terms of beauty, is rarely conspicuous in Victor Hugo's prose or verse.

If it be true, as an eminent French critic has said, that the distinctive honor of the great poets of France lies in the fact that they have created "the poetry of reason," and that genius in that country is "an admirable concourse of all the fitnesses at once," it is easy to measure the departure of Victor Hugo from the traditions and standards of French literary art, and to understand why the popular judgment of his work has differed so radically from the judgment of the critics. French criticism—in point of intelligence, disinterestedness, detachment, and perfection of form, the best in the world—owes its superiority largely to this delicate and sensitive use of reason, to this "concourse of all the fitnesses at once." It was inevitable, therefore, that it should recoil from the excess, the extravagance, the exuberant rhetoric, the lack of organizing instinct, in much of Victor Hugo's work. For this reason it is quite possible that the most trustworthy

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critical estimate of that work must be sought in other countries, and that in France popular judgment of his achievement may survive and triumph over critical judgment.

The social force, so controlling in France, never subdued Victor Hugo; he was born and he died an individualist of the most pronounced type. As one walks at sunset around the walls of Saint Malo he presently faces the little island from whose knoll the figure of Chateaubriand looks out to sea. In the silence which has fallen on the little city and the busy port there comes back the long story of the struggle—confused, turbulent, starred with many brilliant figures—which for centuries went on by land and sea about those frowning battlements. In such a place, quieted now by the very weight of tumultuous memories, the statue of the early leader of one of the most disorderly and fruitful of modern movements in art stands in lonely isolation; for among the children of the romantic mood and temper Victor Hugo holds the first place. In him the strength and weakness of the movement are alike revealed; in that striking drama of revolt he was the chief protagonist. Rarely have so many men of striking personality and gifts been so passionately moved by a common impulse for a freer expression of the primary instincts, forces, and emotions. When the psychological moment came in the Théâtre Français on the 25th of February, 1830, Gautier, in his flaming waistcoat—the very apotheosis of splendid bohemianism—was the most conspicuous figure, but the place and the hour were dominated by the genius of Victor Hugo. In the city of revolutions the barricades were up once more, but not in the streets; the inevitable reaction against a partial and one-sided expression of the human spirit reached a dramatic culmination when "Hernani" was presented for the first time in the tempestuous theater.

Many things may be said of that movement; it is enough to say here that it was a new assertion of the rights of individuality; a fresh reaction against a pressure which had begun to cut and burn of conventions and rules admirable in rational application but deadening in rigid imposition; a fresh and exuberant expression of spontaneity and freedom against regularity, order, and restraint become arbitrary and inflexible.

Once more the barbarians made their way, with rude force and immense noise, into the sacred places of classical tradition; pulled down cherished images with sacrilegious hands; and made rough sport of bewigged and dusty figures long held in veneration. They were boisterous and violent; they went too far, as men in revolts generally do; they broke many windows unnecessarily; but they let in the fresh air, and they set free creative forces of a high order.

They shifted the emphasis from structure to the rich content of feeling, passion, the full and free play of temperament. They brought into literature warmth, color, variety, freshness, intensity, the splendor and the tragedy of the ultimate expression of individuality. With his vivid and impassioned temperament, his quick and ardent imagination, his secondary interest in logical processes and his primary interest in a few simple and elementary emotions and conceptions, Victor Hugo was a predestined romanticist and individualist. In this fact is to be read the secret of his strength and weakness; his audacity, his productivity, his freedom in dealing with materials, his power of flashing an electric light on the great passions and projecting the great experiences in striking outline on a vast canvas; his lack of restraint, the profusion and excess of his imagination, his defective sense of humor and proportion, his occasional tendency to substitute rhetoric for poetry.

Victor Hugo's imagination ran riot at times, and played havoc, not only with literary conventions, but with the realities of art and life; but there was always a flaming vitality in it—an elemental energy which could not be held within bounds, but took its own course in sublime disregard, not only of the authorities, but of law itself. Victor Hugo was a law unto himself; a creative force dealing with things afresh and with an audacious sense of irresponsibility in the exercise of its functions. He used an Olympian's freedom, but his spirit and method were those of a Titan. He poured his imagination like a tide over whatever field he entered, and wherever he went a passionate humanity went with him.

Almost every great French novelist has

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created his own Paris; for Paris, so long the capital of the modern world, lays a spell upon the imagination compounded of the subtlest potencies of concentrated and highly organized life. We know the Paris of Balzac, of Dumas, of Daudet, almost as intimately as we know the Paris of Baron Haussmann. Victor Hugo's romantic imagination has given in "Notre Dame" the freedom of the Paris of Villon—the old mediæval city with its dim streets, its hovels, palaces, churches, and schools; its riotous factions. His passionately human imagination has given us also the Paris of "Les Misérables," with its Bois, its cafés, its gay boulevards, its irresponsible bohemianism, in which the high lights of youth are always balanced by the shadow of tragedy.

These striking stories, which gave Victor Hugo a world-wide vogue, so diverse in background, in atmosphere, in dominant motives and interests, show the touches of the same shaping hand. They are prodigious creations, flooded with energy, with high lights and dense shadows, riotous in profusion of incident and in richness of expression. In "Notre Dame" the unrestrained play of the novelist's imagination passes over into the grotesque. The builders of the Cathedral drew no line of demarcation between religion and the broadest kind of humor, and carved the demonic gargoyle with as frank and free a hand as the figure of the most stainless saint; and Hugo created the monstrous figure of Quasimodo as joyously as he fashioned the beautiful image of Esmeralda. In Quasimodo the grotesque and lawless element in his imagination made its own symbol and shaped its own offspring. The dwarf is a survival of the ages in which the imagination was unrestrained by a sense of responsibility for a faithful rendering of reality and unfettered by the corrective spirit of exact knowledge. If Victor Hugo had lived in the myth-making period, he would have been a myth-maker of a very high order, with a genius for personifying half-human forms and creating figures not wholly emerged from nature nor entirely detached from animal life.

This unsubdued force of imagination in Victor Hugo is the more striking because it appears in a literature pervaded by reason, exquisitely fashioned, urbane, penetrated and molded by the social ideal and force.

The dramas disclose the same breadth of movement, a kindred play of primary elements of will and passion, the same bold objectivity of thought and spirit. And there is also the same audacious freedom in dealing with actualities. There may be a statue of history in the foyer when "Hernani" or "Ruy Blas" is being played, but there will be none on the stage. But, however improbable the situations may be, and however far the characters may be carried by romantic passion, they are alive with human interest and emotion. They fail to convince us, but it is impossible to escape their compelling fire and eloquence.

It is in lyric poetry that this vivid temperament, this passion for life, this affluent imagination, are harmonized in pure and noble expression; that this impetuous and turbulent genius bends to the yoke of art, and in obedience gains not only freedom, but that perfection of form which is the ultimate speech of the great artist. It is in this field, where so many of the truest singers have found place and fame, that Victor Hugo has enriched the literature of France and of the world for all time; it is here that he takes rank with the masters of his craft. As a maker of lyric poetry, his freshness and resource, and, above all, his poetic imagination, put him at the head of the poets of his own literature and give him a secure place among the small group whom we venture, somewhat rashly, to call the poets of all time.

Victor Hugo paid a great price for his freedom, but he paid it with open eyes and with perfect confidence in his judgment of values. He never questioned his own decisions; he accepted them as final and acted upon them with magnificent self-confidence. It cost him no pang to discard a long-accepted tradition and no twinge of conscience to violate a law which had been so long obeyed that it seemed to be part of the order of the universe. History meant to him chiefly picturesque incidents and points of feeling rather than a record of fact or the distilled experience of a race expressed in system and institution. In breaking away from the conventions he came very near the heart of his own people and of the world. His long career

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was, for this reason, full of novel experiments, of new developments, of surprises, of departures from ancient usage, of adventures in untrodden fields, of bold innovations. "Hugo has been more and better than the head of a school," wrote M. Schérer; "he has been a creator, an initiator. I see no one to compare with him in this—neither Ronsard, nor Corneille, nor Voltaire."

Vitality involves health, and, under normal conditions, health faces life not only with courage but with good heart. It has a consciousness of power which is stimulated and stung into action by obstacles and difficulties. Pessimism is the mood of depression, and depression always involves, if not disease, at least a decline of power, a lowering of the tone, a sinking of the great forces of life; and therefore a loss of grasp, of the splendid audacity which loves a difficult task because it is difficult, of the heroic mood in which achievement breeds achievement in glorious parentage. Victor Hugo's most characteristic work lies less than half a century behind us, but, in its attitude to life, in its temperamental tone, it belongs to another epoch. He was the spokesman of the generous, full-blooded, warm-hearted, impulsive mood which touched the Romantic movement with hope, with faith, with the passion for humanity. All things seemed possible to the stout hearts which rested securely on the essential nobility of the human spirit and the illimitable possibilities of human society. The blight which comes with the excessive development of the critical spirit, with an unbalanced use of analysis, had not touched the hopes nor chilled the enthusiasm of these ardent lovers of their kind, of whom Victor Hugo was a leader.

He loved France, after the manner of the man of health and power, without making too nice and exhaustive a study of the grounds of his affection in his own nature; he loved humanity as the noblest spirits have always loved their fellows, not in ignorance of the possibilities and the actualities of depravity, but with a passionate faith, resting on immutable fact, in the victorious advance of civilization; he loved his art with that perfect trust in its essential value, its right to be by virtue of what it is, which has inspired men of creative genius and bred the magnificent audacity that has peopled the world with adorable temples, with ravishing pictures, with entrancing statues, with immortal songs, with music that, once heard, sings forever in the ears of the marching generations. If it is necessary to make choice between precision of form and scholarly exactness and the work that breathes and lives, men will always choose life; for a touch of the creative spirit, a breath of the divine vitality, must always outweigh and outlast the flawless accuracy of line and tone which leaves no foothold either for criticism or for love.

Victor Hugo lived, loved, and wrought; lavishly, sometimes incoherently, but always with a largeness, a freshness, a force, which stir the imagination with a deep sense of life. He was—to quote M. Schérer once more—"an optimist; that is to say, a believer; he had confidence in human nature, in society, in its future. Glory will never fall to the skeptics; the people love only those who share the certitudes or the illusions on which they live themselves."

To those who love much, much may be forgiven.

The love of the heroic needs no apology on such a day or in such a place as this. To honor great spirits by interpreting them is one of the highest functions of the university. When scholarship has no heart for the common fortune of humanity and no enthusiasm for those who cheer and inspire and console by fresh putting forth of that creative energy which is the joy of the race, it ceases to count and becomes but dust and ashes like so many other forms of mere accumulation.

To Americans especially this day brings back once more one of those great spirits who have shared that faith in man on which the structure of free society rests; that air of expectation which serenely awaits the new times and the new men in the New World of the Open Door. It brings to mind the friendship of France in those far-off days when friends were few and the new nation but a prophecy in the untraveled West; it reminds us once more of the immense service of the French mind to the higher civilization of the world, of the generous hospitality with which France has shared her achievements in art and knowledge with the races who have gone to her schools,

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studied in her galleries, and felt the sustaining and nourishing life of her love of beauty and her mastery of its forms; it brings once more before us the delicate and beautiful genius with which the French spirit has touched social life and given it a charm, a grace, a harmonizing quality, which have added a new resource to modern life. In our industries, our activities, our achievements, our expansions, the full reach and play of our Anglo-Saxon energies, let us remember to-day that when we have gathered our spoils and can sit at ease in our palaces, we must still turn to France to give our leisure the air of beauty, our fortune the grace not only of generous use but of delicate service, our society the distinction of that culture which not only enriches the mind but makes manners subtle interpreters of the ripeness of the whole nature.

What is Truth?

An Address to College Students

By Henry S. Pritchett

President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

I WELCOME these meetings,[1] where, as members of a brotherhood, we discuss frankly some of the larger philosophical ideas which interest the whole world. And this not simply for the reason that they bring me into a face-to-face relation with you, but also because these discussions serve to remind us that the college life is a part of the life of the world, and not a life isolated from it.

Last year I called your attention to this thought in speaking to you concerning the relations of a citizen of a free State to the Government. At that time we had some discussion of the methods which the Government employs to conduct its business, of the precautions which it adopts to secure honesty and efficiency in its officers and employees, and of the opportunity which the Government service of our own country offers to educated men.

To-day I wish to speak to you concerning the relations of citizens to one another, and concerning the guiding principle which ought to govern men in order that these relations may be the best, not only for the individual, but for the State as well. And in the outset I remind you again that the college education, if it be really an education, ought to count in preparation for life, and that the college and the life you lead in it is a part of your life in the world.

You will find, both in college and in that later life of which it is the beginning, that with larger opportunity and larger acquaintance you will be called upon to deal in greater and greater measure with questions which concern your social, political, and moral relations with other men.

In what way, may I ask, does your education in applied science help to the adjustment of these relations, and is there in the study of science that which serves to fix a guiding principle of life and of conduct?

I believe that there is such a principle to be found in the studies which you pursue. I go even further and say frankly that if your scientific studies furnish you no suggestions in these matters, if your education here does not connect itself with any philosophy of life and of conduct, if it has not strengthened your moral purpose and helped also to clear your conception of truth and of duty, then you have caught only the husks of science, the grain has slipped through your fingers; you have acquired, not education, but training.

But in what way does the scientific education minister to the right interpretation of our duties in the social order in which we find ourselves?

My answer to this question is this: The scientific method of study is characterized rather by a distinctive attitude of mind to truth than by any new machinery for collecting facts. The scientific method insists that the student approach a problem with open mind, that he accept the facts as they really exist, that he be

[1] One of a series of talks before the Sophomore Class of the Institute of Technology.

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satisfied with no half-way solution, and that, having found the truth, he follow it wherever it leads.

In my opinion, the course which at once conserves the social order and individual freedom is to be found in a knowledge of the truth by the individual citizen. And this knowledge of the truth in our social relations is to be had by use of the same method which we employ in seeking for scientific truth. I believe that the value of the citizen is measured by his ability to know the truth and to use it, and that his freedom is limited by this same ability. I am convinced that the process by which we acquire this ability is the same whether the truth we seek refer to questions of science or to questions of morals. Science says to those who love her, Know truth and follow it. In so doing you serve best your fellow-men and yourself.

But I can understand the questions which such statements immediately raise in your minds. In science, you say, one can know the truth. In the chemical or in the physical laboratory one can compare theory with exact tests, and know whether his results be true or not; but one has no such criterion for judgment in social and moral questions. How is one to know the truth in such matters in order that he may follow it?

In the days of the Roman Emperors the procurator of a certain conquered province in Asia Minor found before him two parties, each of whom claimed to represent the truth. On the one side were the religious leaders of the province, earnest, narrow, confident that they were the divinely appointed guardians of truth. On the other side stood one accused by them of impiety, unbelief, and disregard of the law. But when the accused spoke, his plea for truth was so noble and so earnest that it aroused the attention of even the careless and reckless procurator, and, as he looked in bewilderment from one to the other, he asked, half helplessly, What is truth?

I can well imagine that many of you, coming as you do from distant homes to a strange city, taking up as you must new duties amid new surroundings, find yourselves constantly in the presence of new conceptions of duty concerning these matters of every-day life. Some of the things which you have been taught to look upon as wrong you find done by those in whom you have confidence. Some of the things which you do are not in accord with the views of your companions. And as you observe this difference of opinion concerning those things which men consider right in their relations with other men, I can well imagine you must now and then ask yourself the question, What is truth?

Now, I do not pretend to be able to tell you where truth is. Perhaps my position is somewhat like that of the small Swiss whom I met on top of the Gemmi Pass, and of whom I asked the question, "Where is Kandersteg?" "I don't know," said he, "but there is the road to it." And although each of us finds truth for himself, if he find it at all, nevertheless I may be able to point out some things which will mark the way to it, whether you take one path or another.

In order that a man may reach truth, and having reached it make it effective, at least two qualities are necessary. One is what we call moral sense, earnestness of purpose, desire to do that which is true. The other is intellectual clearness, the ability to think. And the result which a man accomplishes is in large measure a function not of one but of both of these qualities.

You have in mechanics a formula for the momentum of a moving body. This momentum depends both upon the mass of the body and upon its velocity, and is equal to the product of the mass by the velocity. The momentum of a man in the social order in respect to truth is represented by a similar formula. His efficiency equals the moral purpose multiplied into the ability to think straight.

The world's history is full of the story of men who had one of these qualities and who failed by lack of the other. It is difficult to say which has done the greater harm—blind devotion which would not see, or intelligence which saw but lacked purpose and moral courage. Each has at one time or another filled the world with crime and suffering.

The scene to which I have just referred furnishes an illustration of both these cases. The Jewish priests who clamored for the death of the Nazarene were no doubt earnest in their belief that they represented truth, but they lacked the

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clearness of vision to recognize what truth was. Tradition outweighed with them intelligence. Pilate, on the other hand, educated as a Roman knight, a man who knew the world, intellectually alert, saw clearly that this man who stood before him was no criminal, that his words had extraordinary depth and significance. In a weak way he sought to turn aside the judgment of the priests, but his lack of moral purpose made this effort fruitless in the face of the earnestness of the scribes and the Pharisees.

And so, although no man can point out to you the way of truth, although that path is one which each one of you must find by his own effort, to walk in this path you will require not only moral earnestness, but intellectual clearness; one must not only feel right, but he must think straight; he must have not only sentiment but sense.

But you will say that even those who unite moral purpose with intellectual alertness, those who appeal both to conscience and to intellect, even those men do not agree in their attitude concerning what is true in moral and in social questions. Such differences do exist among earnest and thoughtful men. No doubt these differences at times confuse the minds of those who are beginning to think on such questions.

We have had in the daily press for two months past an illustration of such difference of view in a discussion concerning what is usually called the drink question. Now, no earnest and no clear-headed man can fail to realize the misery and the crime which go with the misuse of alcoholic liquors; but the discussions to which I refer brought forward at least three distinct opinions as to the way in which this abuse should be dealt with.

One group of men believed that all social drinking of wine is wrong, and that such drinking should be prohibited by law, as other crimes are prohibited.

A second group held that, while wine-drinking was in itself harmless, nevertheless the danger of misuse is so great that all good men ought to abstain from wine and discountenance its use by others.

A third group took the ground that the question was one for each individual to settle for himself; that truth required the admission that a large number of those who drink wine use it in a rational way; that temperance and truth lie along the same path; that the real lesson which mankind has to learn is the lesson of self-control and of rational living.

It is not my purpose to discuss any of these views, all of which have been earnestly and conscientiously maintained. But the point to which I wish to call your attention is this. The question whether you accept the one or the other of these views is comparatively of small importance. But it is of infinite importance to you that, in these and in similar questions, you find your own conception of the truth, as conscience and mind direct; and, having reached a result, that you have the courage to follow that conception wherever it leads. It means little for you to accept my view of truth or any other man's view of truth. It means everything to you to determine out of an open heart and an alert mind your own conception of truth, and, having done this, to keep the courage of such conviction. And if your training in science is to have any deeper meaning, if it is to connect itself not only with the problem of making a living, but also with a real philosophy of life, then the habit of open-mindedness which you have been trained to use in science, this scientific method, as it is called, is also the attitude of mind in which you should approach all questions.

There is a feeling sometimes that too much truth is not a good thing, at least for men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-four. And sometimes, when one's conceptions of truth, particularly in social and moral questions, lead directly across the conventional and traditional lines, one is tempted to ask whether, after all, it is not better to fall in with the view of other men and travel their road. All men of serious purpose, whether their lives be passed in the public view or not, face this question at one time or another, for all men who have earnestness and intelligence become leaders in greater or in less degree. In such a moment of hesitation there is one voice which speaks down the centuries—the voice of one greater than Marcus Aurelius, greater than philosopher or poet or priest, whose utterance is so clear and so straightforward that it brings courage to doubting

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souls and shows the way for timid hearts. That voice says, "Know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." My brothers, there is no other freedom worth the having other than that freedom which a man enters into when he follows truth as his own heart and his own mind enable him to see it. Know the truth, and, as the Master says, it shall make you free: free from discouragement and free from fear. For the real dragons that destroy men's souls are not food and drink, but the weakness which allows passion to become the master, not the slave, of the mind; the selfishness which sees only personal interest and personal gain; the mental lethargy which accepts error rather than seek truth; the lack of vision which fails to recognize the truth; the lack of moral purpose to follow the truth when it is seen; and the fear which turns aside or renders powerless the noblest purpose and the finest conception.

There is another quality of the mind which ought also to enter into one's attitude toward truth, and which is characteristic of the scientific spirit and of the scientific method. This quality is tolerance. For how strong soever one feels himself to be in purpose, and how sure soever he may consider his conception, other men just as sincere, possibly as able, will discern truth in a different direction and approach it by a different path. No man, no party, no sect, and no religion has a divine monopoly either of truth itself or of the ways by which truth may be found. History is full of the story of those who parted, the one from the other, each to follow truth as he saw it, to find that their divergent paths came, in the end, to the same destination.

I remember one summer night watching from a hilltop two men making their way across a low, swampy meadow to a farmhouse beyond. There had been an accident on the railway and they were hurrying for assistance. One of them had removed the headlight from the locomotive and was using it to find a pathway; the other had only a brakeman's lantern. I observed that the man with the headlight went straight forward to his destination, directly across the shallow streams which intersected the meadow; while he with the lantern wandered back and forward, tracing out the meanderings of the little streams, sometimes even going directly away. But at last he too came to the farm-house, and, when he was questioned as to these wide detours, explained that he found it necessary to go around the heads of the streams which intersected the meadow. In truth, the streams were only a few inches deep, and the safe and direct way lay directly across them. This he with the headlight had discerned, and by so doing had accomplished quickly and easily what the other came to after long and wearisome seeking. Yet both sought the same goal and both reached it.

It is in some such way that men with different training and different equipment arrive after all at the same truth by widely different paths, and after different expenditure of time and labor. The personal equation enters into our judgment of truth as it does into all human thinking. It is no part of the scientific teaching to deny to another the same freedom in the search for truth which he himself claims. The scientific man of all others should be tolerant.

This does not mean that the scientific method excuses a man for his failure to use all the means in his power to come at the truth. It does not forgive a man when he seeks in a devious way that which he ought to reach by a direct road. It does not hesitate to criticise a man who uses a lantern when he might employ a locomotive headlight.

The principle that free expression of opinion is conceded to those who differ from the recognized authorities is a lesson which individuals and parties, societies and nations, have been slow to learn. This right, so far as social, political, and religious questions are concerned, is limited to-day by curious social and geographic lines. It is the boast of our Anglo-Saxon stock that political and religious freedom has found its fairest fruitage in Anglo-Saxon civilization. We who live under a régime which guarantees to each citizen freedom of thought and of speech do well to recall now and then the mistakes and the difficulties through which our fathers came to learn this lesson. It is a story full of the weaknesses and of the strength of humanity; a story of progress step by step, with many halts and backward steps; a story of cruelty and of devotion; of the blindness of the many and of the clear

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vision of the few; but a story always of human progress toward truth.

For the desire to compel other men to accept one's own view of truth has been confined to no class and to no age. It has been a very human characteristic since the days when men lived in caves and dressed in skins. Kings and priests, having had most power in their hands, have had most opportunity to use the argument of force. Mahomet found that the sword was the surest argument to convert a stubborn convert, and doubtless he was thoroughly honest in his belief. The priests who crucified Christ felt no doubt of their devotion to truth. A few centuries later those who called themselves followers of Christ found in their hands the power to persecute men for their opinions, and they did not hesitate to use it. As the Rev. John Cotton, in his controversy with Roger Williams, naïvely asserted, persecution is not wrong in itself; "it is wicked," said he, "for falsehood to persecute truth, but it is the sacred duty of truth to persecute falsehood;" and that teaching bore strange fruit for New England soil.

Boston Common, scarce a stone's-throw from this room, lies to-day white and fair under last night's snowfall. As we look upon it our memories go back to the days of 1775, and to those later scenes which preceded the Civil War. We think of Boston Common as sacred to liberty and to freedom and to the rights of man; and I believe there is no spot on earth more truly dedicated to human freedom. Yet it has beheld other scenes than gatherings of indignant colonists or groups of patriot citizens anxious for their country's future. Our thoughts seldom go back to that October morning in 1659 when William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer were led out on Boston Common to be hanged for teaching the doctrines of the Quakers. It is not easy for us at this day to realize that men and women could be hanged on that free soil for rejecting the doctrine of original sin and of the resurrection of the body, for denying the efficacy of baptism, and for asserting the absolute right of private judgment. And I remind you of this scene, not to compare our liberality with the narrowness of our fathers, but to call your attention to the fact that by their very earnestness of purpose and by their examination and discussion of religious questions the fathers found the path to truth, though long and rough; persecution gave way to tolerance, and a colony founded to perpetuate a special view of divine truth became a State where any man may follow truth as his own heart and his own mind direct. And this ideal is, after all, that toward which great souls have labored in all ages. For this scientific method is no new invention of the nineteenth century. The men who have led humanity have always been those who went forward with open hearts and with clear minds. For literature and science and politics and religion are not separate and distinct things, but only different parts of the same thing; different paths by which men have sought after beauty and truth and righteousness—and these are one.

Therefore let me hope that your study of science may mean something more to you than the facts of chemistry and of physics which you learn in the laboratory. And, if I may be remembered by you when you have left these halls, I would choose to be remembered as one who taught you to approach the problems of your duties and relations with men in the same spirit in which you approach a problem in the laboratory—to be content with no lie, to rest in no evasion of the truth; to work out, with the help of a tender conscience and an alert mind, your own conceptions of truth, and, having reached such conceptions, to follow them. And this is the answer to my question. We know truth when we reach it of our own effort and make it our truth. The politics and the religion which a man inherits, without thinking and without effort, count little toward his political and his spiritual development. Men differ, and will always differ, as to what truth is in this or in that matter, but that man finds truth who seeks it; he serves truth who follows it fearlessly; he serves his fellow-men who does all this with humility and with tolerance.

In the church service of to-day is preserved a short prayer: "Grant us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting." It has come down to us from one of the heroes of the early Church, him whom men called the

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golden-tongued; one who, after a life of devotion and of courage and of tolerance, died at the hands of ignorance and jealousy. The words of this prayer, few and simple as they are, seem to me to ask all that a human soul can ask—in this world knowledge of God's truth, in the world to come the life everlasting. The educated man, the courageous man, the tolerant man, has no other prayer.

Religious Life in America[1]

VII.—The Edge of the Southwest

By Ernest Hamlin Abbott

IT was in a slow accommodation train running from Memphis to Little Rock. Many times during the long morning the train was emptied and filled again with country people and traveling salesmen. Mile after mile we rumbled past long stretches of swamp-land, covered with its charred forest of spindling trees burnt to save the labor of felling, and its monotonous string of lonely, dissolute little hovels, where lazy family groups of negroes lolled and stared. Under some circumstances even people cease to be interesting; and I was heartily glad when the tedium was broken by a change of cars. I found myself crowded with a number of "drummers" in the compartment of one of the rear passenger coaches. Strewed over the floor of the car were valises and sample cases in confusion. The conversation among the men was mainly of the various "houses" they "represented." Finally one of the "drummers" opened his valise, pulled out a bottle of whisky, and handed it about to his brothers in trade. His manner was that of a general who was summoning his forces preliminary to making his *coup-de-main*.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I have here the best-selling article I ever handled."

Out of the confused pile of baggage he extricated a small leather case. He pressed a spring, and the case lay open on his knees. "This is the greatest panoramic chart of Biblical history ever made. Here are some cards describing it. Keep them." He had the undivided attention of the whole group. "In the center space you will see the illustrations of Bible scenes; in the left-hand space the Scripture text giving in inspired language the statement of the historical facts. In the right-hand space appear the subjects, with the dates accurately noted. Here, for instance, is the picture of Creation, modeled closely after the Biblical language, so that we can know just how it looked—Scripture texts from Genesis on the left, date on the right. Insert this adjustable crank, and you have the next scene—Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden—Scripture text on the left, date on the right. A child can manage it and understand it; at the same time it is instructive to the most learned Biblical scholars. Look at these indorsements from the most eminent divines and theological professors of all denominations. Nothing like it. I make a hundred and fifty dollars a month with it right here in Arkansas; I ask nothing better."

"It is certainly the best device I ever saw for making Bible study easy," remarked a rather flashily dressed member of the brotherhood.

"Why, gentlemen," declared the man with the Bible chart and the whisky, "I am ready to say that I have been a student of the Bible all my life; but I never learned so much about Bible history as I have since I have been selling this wonderful illustrated panoramic chart, the most remarkable work ever published in the interest of religion."

This incident could not have happened in the North, nor in the extreme South. In the North that sort of religious publication would not have been so commercially profitable, and, besides, no Northern man would have dared to assume such sympathy on the part of a chance group of men in a railroad train. On the other

[1] Previous articles in this series will be found in the issues of The Outlook for November 16, November 23, November 30, December 28, January 11, and January 18.

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hand, in the extreme South, though the religious conceptions of this man of Arkansas might have been congenial, his aggressiveness would have been entirely out of place.

To many readers the incident I have related of the man in the train may seem to be exaggerated, or at least extreme. It was, however, a striking confirmation of what was told me by the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in one of the most important of the cities of the Southwest. I had arrived there late in the evening. People were coming into the city by train-loads to attend the races. On my arrival, instead of going to one of the hotels, I went directly to the Young Men's Christian Association. I had learned, by that time, of the great value of the Associations as sources of information and help to strangers. There is no more practical benefit which the Associations throughout the country are conferring than simply making it known that they are ready to give welcome and counsel to any man who finds himself in their neighborhood without friends to turn to. Though the Secretary in this instance was very busy, he left his directors' meeting to give me advice as to lodging for the night, telephoned to one hotel after another, and then finally, when answers from each place came, "Every room full, on account of the races," offered me, half-humorously, half-seriously, a place on one of the reading-room tables for the night. Thanks to him, I did finally find a supper and a real bed. In the meantime, while I was hesitating to go out into the storm, he talked to me very frankly about certain phases of the religious life of the city:

"The churches here are after the individual. There is a recognized need for more social work. The ministers here recognize this weakness. But they feel more especially the lack of spirituality in the churches themselves." To illustrate this lack of spirituality he spoke of the way in which all church work suffered during the racing season. To his personal knowledge, "women who are church members go to the races and instruct their children how to bet. One deacon," he said, "was called in for help on Association work, and sent word that he had a sick headache—result of losing thirty dollars (a small sum, but the deacon, though rich, was 'close') at the races. Yes, —— is a tough place—not because of open vice, but because of low standards among church people."

Certainly the city and indeed the whole region for scores of miles around seemed to be horse-mad; and I could well believe that what the Secretary told me, after making all allowance for possible personal bias in moral judgment, was not unfair. Those churches in the South and Southwest which especially pride themselves on the fact that they are stalwart in doctrine are not, so far as I could see, strong in moral fiber or rich in spiritual life. There are three elements that ought to be well balanced in all religious life: a measurable degree of intellectual certainty, moral conduct based on fundamental principles, and that sense of personal relationship to God which is usually termed spiritual experience. In the Southwest intellectual certainty was very manifest; moral conduct was emphasized, but seemed to be determined by more or less dogmatic precepts generally acquiesced in rather than by unifying principle; and spiritual experience was confined to a vague assurance that the future condition of one who maintained his intellectual certainty and followed the accepted moral precepts would not be endangered. In other words, the religion of the Southwest seemed to be the religion of the South largely stripped of its charm.

At the beginning of my trip some one told me that there was no better reflector of the religious life of the Southern people than the provincial religious papers. My experience confirmed this. The reason for this fact is not far to seek. The Southern people are not great readers. Even the clergymen of St. Louis, so I was told at a denominational bookstore, buy but few books. The dwellers in the small towns and the country regions of the South, whose access to literature is more difficult and whose means for purchase are small, are the more dependent for their reading upon their denominational papers.

I came across one of these clearing-houses of religious thought in one of the important cities of the Southwest. It was the office of a Baptist weekly paper. When I entered, the editor, an elderly man with a long gray beard, looked up at

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me over his spectacles. I stated my errand and the name of the paper I represented. At the mention of The Outlook his face grew grave and somewhat severe. Very courteously, however, he gave me one or two copies of his paper and presented me with some statistics concerning his denomination in the State; but as for vouchsafing any expression of his ideas or point of view—not a word. He was as reticent as a diplomat. Soon a young man entered. The editor introduced him as his son, and put me into his hands. The son was no more communicative than his father, though equally courteous. At last, as if he could no longer withhold, he roundly said:

"We used to read The Outlook with great pleasure, when it was liberal: but now it has flopped on public questions."

This frankness broke the ice. For the rest of the morning there was no diplomacy. The trouble he took in giving up his work to talk with me and in taking me from one place to another to introduce me to representative men was one of the many demonstrations I have had that people are responsive to any one who they believe is trying to see from their point of view. Before I left the office both the editor and his son expressed a very genuine and cordial interest in the purpose of The Outlook to give, not an array of religious statistics, but a series of pictures of religious life in America.

In the conversation of these men there was no suggestion of interest in what is called spiritual life. There was not even any use of cant terms, which may be called the blank cartridges of the church militant; no hint that religion had to do with character, except as it involved stalwart adherence to a faith that had once for all been delivered to the saints. Nor was there any recognition of the effect which religion might have on the social life of men. Indeed, when I made an inquiry on this point, I was told that there were no social problems there! Happy city of over thirty thousand, without a social problem to disturb its Christian people! This was the reason given for the fact that the churches devoted all their attention to the conversion of the individual. This "conversion" was attained when the individual intellectually accepted certain dogmas and publicly identified himself with some church. Under these two divisions, doctrine and organization, could be included all that I found characteristic of the religious life of the Southwest, as expressed not only by what these two editors said, but, with perhaps one or two exceptions, by what I heard on every hand. The political ideas of my interlocutor consistently reinforced his religious conceptions. He was, of course, a Democrat, and was an active member of his party organization. He measured political life, first, by political doctrines—the formulas of faith that had once for all been delivered to the fathers of the Republic—and, second, by his party, which apparently could do no wrong. His religious creed was like his political platform—not subject to interrogation. Any one who questioned either was "more liberal," or, as he preferred to say "looser"—both terms of opprobrium. His church was, like his party, the embodiment of righteousness and safety. Those who belonged to other parties and other churches were mistaken—that was all that need be said about them. As for those who belonged to no party and no church—well, we did not discuss such people. To hold an intellectual position involving self-contradiction seemed to cause him no mental disturbance. At best, if there was to be any reconciliation between theory and fact, it was the facts that had to be brought into conformity with the theories, not the theories to the facts. He was urgent that the Filipinos be given at once full political rights; and when I asked him to harmonize that opinion with the suppression by his party of the rights of the negroes, he replied, "Oh, the negro has his political rights here." It happened that that day was election day; and the paper reported nearly six times as many Democratic as Republican votes. I wanted to find out what had become of the negro vote. So the next day I inquired of a negro, who had the confidence of the white people because he was emphatically not a politician, whether he ever voted. "Not now," he answered. "Would you be allowed to vote?" "Yes," he said with hesitation; "but," he added, discreetly, "you know I don't want to go into politics." "Do the negroes here generally vote?" I persisted. "Yes." "Are their votes counted?" "Yes." "——Out?"

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"Yes;" and he shrugged his shoulders, smiled, and changed the subject.

Now, the young Baptist editor had no intention of misrepresenting facts to me; but his political doctrine needed certain facts for its support, and therefore, he inferred, such the facts must be. In religious matters his mental attitude was the same. His theory of what his denomination ought to do was firmly established. Inasmuch as that theory was that the denomination should concern itself only for bringing about individual conversions, there could be no social problems. To make up for his lack of interest in the actual facts of life which affect religion (regarded as a spirit of life or a Christlike spirit in the life of to-day), he evinced a very great deal of interest in the maintenance of the most minute details of doctrine. Baptism, of course, was, according to his belief, essential to Christian discipleship; and also, of course, it was not baptism unless it was immersion. But even thus stated the doctrine was too general. "Southern Baptists, you know," he said, "are strongly opposed to Alien Immersion—that is, we deny the validity of the rite as performed by 'Disciples.' There is no laxity on this point. Northern Baptists are looser in this respect; but, partly because they are good-humored, those who come here fall into our ways, and, by correspondence with friends at home in the North, produce a reflex influence there for greater doctrinal soundness. The insistence on doctrine is continued here unabated."

This hint at the controversial origin of this dogmatic spirit of the Southwest was characteristic. It was illustrated by a conversation I had with a cultivated lady who had been born and bred in Kentucky, but had lived in another State to the south and west for many years. She told me that her father and mother were Disciples, or "Christians" (as the followers of Alexander Campbell are variously called). As is generally known, "Campbellites" (the name which, though repudiated by themselves, is the only one that is distinctive) declare that they are not a denomination; that they have no creed but the New Testament and no doctrines but the commands of Jesus. They are, however, as insistent upon immersion as are the Baptists, and have very decided opinions about the relation between repentance and faith. Under the influences of this form of belief this lady was educated. Her parents gave her a New Testament and told her to read it and determine for herself what her belief should be. In that region the Baptists were the other aggressive sect. Just because these two denominations were so nearly alike in general matters of belief, their differences in details of doctrines made them and still make them the more intense in theological conflict. She exercised her right of private judgment, not by formulating her own faith, but by deciding between the tenets of opposing sects. And she chose the dogmas of the Baptists. Her belief was, therefore, the outcome of theological conflict, and, like a conqueror who has won new territory only after battle and privation, she guarded her hard-won spoils with severe and jealous vigilance. In her belief, Christianity was a Law to be obeyed—not a new motive to form character and determine conduct, but an external command which required unquestioning submission. Her chief interest in talking with me was, as she phrased it, "to find out what a thoughtful Pedobaptist would say in defense of his belief." When I began to tell what I thought such "a Pedobaptist would say," I found her ready with her proof-texts and her answers; until I soon felt myself, too, growing eager for the encounter. For that moment I understood and entered into the spirit of the religion of the Southwest. How tragic the outcome of such a spirit may be, those who have read James Lane Allen's "Reign of Law" can understand. Sometimes the outcome is not only tragic but almost grotesque, as was the case of a man whom I met in the extreme South. He had been bred in this edge of the Southwest, and had been imbued with its spirit; but, finding nothing beautiful in it, rejected it *in toto*, and in doing so rejected Christianity itself. But so strong was the influence of his early training that he continued to find his most delightful avocation to consist in writing controversial essays on New Testament exegesis, and to-day has some considerable reputation as a theologian.

As a consequence of this atmosphere of controversy, an evangelist who disregards distinctions of dogma and makes

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his appeal both intellectually simple and frankly emotional is apt to be very effective in the Southwest. This was illustrated by an experience of mine in Little Rock, Ark. I had dropped in one evening at a prayer-meeting in a Baptist church. There were very few present; apparently I was the only stranger. An elderly gentleman with a patriarchal beard and a very benignant face took charge of the meeting in the absence of the pastor. After reading a psalm he turned toward me and asked me to offer prayer. With this unexpected request I of course willingly complied. Two or three took part in the meeting, one of whom was a very young man of somewhat self-important bearing, who uttered a most rhetorical jeremiad against the Christians of the city because they did not go to prayer-meeting, and closed with a threat that God in his wrath would burn them all up. At the close of the meeting the elderly gentleman who had been the leader at once came to me, welcomed me, inquired who I was, and, after hearing of my purpose, greatly to my astonishment offered me the hospitality which he and his gracious wife later extended to me in their sumptuous home. He was a former Governor of the State and a prominent officer of his church—indeed, had been ordained as a Baptist preacher.

"May I ask how you had the confidence to call on a stranger for prayer?" I asked.

"Oh," he replied, "any one who comes into a little prayer-meeting like this may be presumed to be able to lead in prayer." (That and the incident of the drummer with the Bible chart tell a great deal about religious conditions in the Southwest.) "But," the Governor protested, "you must not judge us by this little meeting. There's a revival going on in the Methodist Church, and most of our people are over there. I should advise you to go."

When I reached the church, I found it crowded. People were standing in the aisles. On the platform a big man, with a voice that had the volume of a diapason and the *timbre* of a hautboy, was exhorting the audience. He had the instincts of a dramatic orator, and he showed them as he told a very simple story. Grown men over all the audience were wiping their eyes with their handkerchiefs. The charming young girl in the story had divested herself of her finery and had made the old folks comfortable, had touched their hearts by her affection, and then had bidden farewell, when the evangelist turned, and, with his face and arms uplifted, declared how much richer, fuller, more self-denying was the love of Christ, and then, reaching out towards the congregation, seemed to single out here and there an individual to whom he appealed to accept this love and become Christ's. Then, after a hymn, came the "after-meeting," when he called upon his hearers to confess their faith. With homely illustration, and without a reference to theological formulas, he insisted upon the simplicity of Christianity. While the choir and congregation sang softly, he continued his appeals, and, as one by one many people came forward—men, women, and children—he took them by the hands and asked for them the prayers of believers. That many of his methods were meretricious and most of his ethical appeals were fanatical did not weigh for an instant against the simplicity of his gospel and its emphasis upon the personal—yes, and, if you will have it so, the emotional—relationship between the human life and God. It was to hear this that people had fled in throngs from the discord of sects. But back to the atmosphere of controversy they had to go—it may be imagined with what confusion of mind.

Between the North and East on the one hand and the Southwest on the other, the city of St. Louis is a great commercial, industrial, moral, and religious vortex. The produce of the great central plains of the continent gathers there for distribution to Southern markets. Factories send their wares out to a varied population. The ethical ideals of South and North, West and East, there find spontaneous expression. The religious conceptions of foreign-born Roman Catholics, of Western pioneers, of Southern conservatives, and of New England Puritans mingle and sometimes blend. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that there I should find expressed in its most extreme form the reaction from the individualism dominant and relentless in the Southwest. The

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group of men with whom I lunched one day—an editor, a manufacturer, a clergyman, a librarian, and a mechanic (one a product of the slums, another of the hempfields, another from the East, another from Scandinavia)—each unlike the others in nativity, training, occupation, and creed—all agreed that religion was something very different from that which the churches represented; that it was wholesome and normal only as it impelled men to live more wholesomely and normally with their fellow-men. As one of them—it was the editor, I think—put it, "The Bible begins in a garden and ends in a city. Not Eden, but the New Jerusalem, is the ideal." The "social gospel" was the only gospel they believed in—the "two or three *gathered together*."

One of these men, whom I have called a mechanic, began life in Kentucky. By his parents he was brought up to be a stalwart "Disciple." On the corner of his father's farm was erected a meeting-house of the Disciples, to be a beacon in the midst of a region overwhelmed by the darkness of Baptist error. He told me that from the time he was eight years of age he carried about in his pocket a copy of the New Testament—not for devotional reasons, by any means, but for purposes of self-defense, so that whenever he met a Baptist he could whip it out and supply to his adversary proof-texts in support of the faith that was in him; and valiantly did he wield this sword of the Spirit. As he grew older he left the farm to prepare himself for the ministry of the Disciples; and at last became a preacher in full standing. After an experience in various pulpits, he was forced to the conclusion that the churches were not influencing the real workers of the world—or at least of his world; were not even acquainted with their lives. So, withdrawing from the ministry—not because he lacked sympathy with the church, but in order to be sure that he would be no burden to his denomination—he turned to manual labor as a means of supporting his family. He went into Arkansas, with a library consisting of Shakespeare, Dante, Homer, and the Bible, and "farmed it." Of his life there he had many amusing stories to tell. From one occupation to another he went in his search for knowledge of humanity. When I met him, he was an apprentice in a machine-shop. In the evening he superintended a Jewish social settlement. He was president of a society for excavating mammoth remains. He told me that one of his sons, a boy of sixteen or thereabouts, wanted to keep a peanut stand; he gave his consent, and the boy set up his stand in one of the roughest places of the city. He feared no harm for the boy because he had faith in the boy's home training, and he believed his acquisition of real knowledge of the city life would do him good. All this time this man has kept his membership in the little Campbellite church on his father's farm in Kentucky, has contributed to its support, and at least once a year goes there to preach. Never have I met a man who has adjusted himself and has kept himself adjusted to so many grades of society, who has had a larger range of interests, and who has had a simpler, surer faith. As we strolled from one place to another in the city—now in a little restaurant where he knew the proprietor and his family, now in the "Reform Rooms," where we argued with some acquaintances of his about Socialism and single tax, now in one or two quiet saloons which he showed me as typical "workingmen's clubs," now in the basement lodging-house of the Salvation Army, to which we took a poor deaf and dumb young fellow—he kept throughout his imperturbable spirit, his unchangeable sanity of mind and Christian feeling.

It was in St. Louis, also, that I met a man who had come to this same point by a road from an exactly opposite direction. He had been a newsboy on the East Side of New York, a mechanic in a Brooklyn factory. He, too, saw that the workers of *his* world were not known by the churches. So, as one who at least knew the point of view of workingmen, he decided to become a minister, that he might bring the life of Christ into the life of artisans and mechanics. Simple in heart and very modest, he would tell me little about himself; but on Easter evening, when I attended the service at his mission, joined the crowded congregation of the poor, heard his very human account of the death and resurrection of Jesus, listened to the music rendered under the direction of his gifted wife—

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music that was far better in real musical value than the more ornate choral service I had heard in a wealthy uptown church that very morning—and met some of his congregation after the service, I learned more from him than he could tell, or perhaps could know.

These two men represent the hope of the Southwest for a real and a growing religious life.

Governor La Follette and What He Stands For

By Amos Parker Wilder

IN Wisconsin the political issues are two: the direct vote in making nominations, thus bringing political control back to the people; and the forcing of corporations to bear their share of taxation. A most trustworthy State Tax Commission reported a year ago that tax reform should begin by adding over $1,200,000 every two years to the amounts already paid by the railroads. The last Legislature refused to enact the increase. Can a Legislature be secured that will do its duty? Wisconsin people are not more Populistic than other well-fed, genial Americans who tolerate bath-tubs in their homes and accept Carnegie libraries. But many of them believe that the unfolding life of the Nation reveals new dangers to guard against; and it has not escaped attention that the nominating of candidates has become a confused and remote process, and that too often the men of power in political councils are the controlling forces in quasi-public corporations which desire favorable legislation. Wealth seeks to fortify itself with all the concomitants of ability, power, and secrecy. Personality is at work, both coercive and persuasive. There is intrigue, indecision, and the play of vice on weakness. The fighters are taking their posts. There is the cry of challenge and defiance.

Meanwhile the electorate, a body of over four hundred and fifty thousand voters, mostly agriculturists—men of Wisconsin, sons of New England, Germans, Norwegians, and representatives of many other lands—look confusedly on, waiting for the contest to begin. As in all war, the people pay the bills, carry the burdens, and suffer the distress, but they may also profit by a victory. Governor La Follette, whose re-election is the issue, insists that their interests lie his way. The election occurs in November next. The State Republican Convention, which will name the candidate for Governor, meets during the summer. The immediate object of the present contest is to secure a majority of the delegates from the seventy counties to this Convention and control it. Governor La Follette is popularly regarded as the standard-bearer of reform. He is now serving his first term, and the effort of his opponents is to crush him before he gets any further. Whether one regards this interesting figure as a young David defying the giant of capital and the established order, or brands him as a clever opportunist and a silver-tongued demagogue, will decide one's enrollment, in Wisconsin parlance, as a "half-breed" or a "stalwart." Most of the newspapers are working for his defeat, and not a few of them have shifted their attitude under suspicious circumstances. The adroit opposition has just now complicated the situation and confounded the voters by proposing as their candidate against Governor La Follette a man not only of recognized purity and wisdom but of great determination and aggressive integrity.

Let us consider some of the factors that veil this struggle to get power back to the hands of the people. Governor La Follette is forty-seven years old, but all think of him as young. His family stock was of "the people" and of the soil—a coveted prestige in this Northwest, where farmers control things. La Follette made a reputation in his university days as an orator, but he was too busy earning his living to do much with books. He won the intercollegiate contest when a number of States sent their best college speakers to Iowa City. His oration, an original study of Iago, is

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still quoted in the district schools. Like many men of the public type, La Follette is strongly endowed with the dramatic instinct. He is short in stature, but shapely, with a striking face and head, smooth-shaven, and with abundant dark hair piled up on a high forehead. He was taken up by the voters when scarcely out of the law school, and was made district attorney; then he served six years in Congress—from 1885 to 1891. He was on William McKinley's committee that framed the McKinley tariff, and the Ohio leader thought much of the young man from Wisconsin. For some years, after the Democratic tidal wave of 1890 retired him from Congress, Mr. La Follette practiced law. He achieved distinction in jury work, but the attractions of political life were too strong for him, and in 1896 he offered himself to the Republicans for the nomination as Governor. They declined to accept him. In 1898 he tried it again. By this time he had formulated his reforms. He was again defeated, but his platform compelled acceptance. The old-line Republicans, who had long before instinctively felt that he was no longer their kind, were now worried, and their fears were justified. La Follette got out among "the people," spoke to them and with them, and soon had them enthusiastically behind him. In 1900 he received the nomination unanimously, not because the machine wanted him, but because it had to take him. He polled the full vote, and with McKinley secured over one hundred thousand Republican majority.

The political methods of any man who can overthrow so well approved a machine as that which has been built up in Wisconsin merit consideration. He did it by building up an even better machine.

In a campaign Governor La Follette is a tireless worker, attracting to himself, by his magnetic personality, young men, especially university graduates and young lawyers; and his own law office is a hive of industry. By personal letters and printed documents he reaches great numbers of men of local influence in all the seventy counties of the State. Mrs. La Follette was a classmate of her husband, an unusual woman, interested in advance movements, and an enthusiastic co-worker with him in his public ambition. The Governor is a man of blameless personal life, of a sanguine disposition, strong in his likes and dislikes, and styled by his enemies "a dictator" and "vindictive." He works best with lieutenants who obey without question. It was said of Horatio Seymour that he worked well in any sort of harness. Governor La Follette is not of this class of men. His temperament is on the order of Mr. Bryan's; he is eager to be the people's champion; his mind is aglow with visions of great enactments for the public welfare. Commingled with this is great personal ambition. Men of this stamp wish to be at the head of the procession, not merely in it; and the enactments must bear their name. Only superficial estimators of character and usefulness, however, are dismayed by these outcroppings of human nature. Indeed, one must be prepared to tolerate even cruder forms of human nature to comprehend the potential usefulness of men like La Follette and those who grapple with the modern lions that guard the portals where Privilege is intrenched. With Governor La Follette's strong hold on the common people goes great power as a political organizer, and much political adroitness, to which his enemies give a stronger name. This reformer, unlike some others, is not only bold, but very shrewd; the children of darkness must look to themselves when pitted against La Follette. His third and successful convention, the one of last summer, is an illustration. After a stormy anti-convention fight, in which La Follette stirred the State as an anti-corporation champion, the remarkable spectacle of a unanimous convention and nomination ensued, and among the workers in the campaign which gave La Follette an unprecedented majority none was more diligent than the railroads. The sudden falling in line of the managers of the railroads and other corporations for La Follette was something of a mystery; some of the other candidates believed that he had come to an understanding with the influential political managers. The friends of the Governor assert, what I believe to be true, that he had his enemies "on the run;" by brilliant campaign organization in the pivotal counties he routed them. It was then for them a case of "band-wagon." Governor La Follette does things that weary the patience of the

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most loyal adherent. So dominant is his personality that many independent men are alienated. He has put men up for office whose characters were objectionable and whose qualifications were pitiful. But through his appointments and policies runs a vein of political purpose. The Governor takes all that apply, saints and sinners alike, and there are fishes for the hungry. In his second and successful campaign to secure the Governorship he made a mercilessly persistent attack on Governor Scofield, an excellent executive—one of the honorable order of sawmill owners who have long served Wisconsin in public station. It was hard to see any reason why Scofield should be thrown out and La Follette put in, except that the latter wanted to "lead the people."

And yet, notwithstanding these facts, the man is strong and is really a leader of the people. Why? Because he is honest and fearless and stands for something. Given these qualities and it is amazing how much the electorate will overlook. It suddenly flashes into the minds of the electorate how inspiring is a man with a clear-cut mission, and how rare is the combination of honesty and courage in American public life—so rare, when it comes to assailing the castle of privilege and custom, that even wisdom is not an indispensable handmaid. It requires some such view of the exigencies of latter-day politics to understand Robert La Follette's position in Wisconsin and why the people cling to him when the ranks of conventionality, wealth, and distinction have pretty generally branded him as a disturber and even a charlatan.

The legislative session of 1900 was stormy almost from the beginning. La Follette sought to crowd through a primary election bill. It was a drastic measure. The party platform promised such a law. It was the one issue about which the entire session of five months raged. The Governor was able to pass it in the Assembly by a close vote; but the Senators developed opposition to his measure and to him personally, and the feeling ran very high, culminating at the close in a veto of a partial primary measure which the opposition offered him, as he believed, to embarrass him. This veto message scored his enemies in the most scorching language. He charged the opponents of the primary election bill with getting members drunk and tempting them with vice to secure their votes. The Outlook said at the time that it was the most vigorous public utterance made in this country for a generation. The opposition Senators put on record their assertion that it was insulting.

One of the first steps taken to crush the Governor was the purchase of one of the greatest of the Milwaukee dailies, with a circulation throughout the State, its editorial policy being reversed in one day. Soon after the Legislature adjourned, the "stalwart" Republican League was formed. On the face of it this call to a reorganization of the party seemed unanswerable; it was signed by eighteen of the thirty-one Republican Senators and by eighty-one of the Republican Assemblymen, and there were many good men among them. A palatial suite of rooms was engaged in Milwaukee, and for months it has been the headquarters of an anti-La Follette campaign which for lavish expenditure, bitterness, and persistent effort has rarely been equaled. State Senator John M. Whitehead (Yale, 1877) has been called upon by the opposition to dispute the nomination with Governor La Follette, and has formally accepted the proposition that he should contest the nomination. Mr. Whitehead is a lawyer and a man of the highest character and of unusual force and judgment. He is President of the State Young Men's Christian Association, a big, determined, honest fellow; with no humor, but on intimate terms with grim duty as he sees it. Normally his would be a candidacy for all well-disposed citizens to get behind. The movement, however, which is urging this candidacy, while State-wide in its personnel, will be under "stalwart" auspices; and those who distrust the movement will be tempted to say that Whitehead's candidacy is analogous to Shepard's support and nomination by Tammany Hall.

La Follette is the present hope of "primary elections" in Wisconsin. This interests him more than anything else. Some of his opponents say that it is his scheme to build up a State machine. Many regard the principle as an absurdity; these are the uninformed. The ringsters, of course, are instinctively opposed to allowing the voters to have any more to do with the

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nominations than necessary. This great reform, which is engaging the attention of thoughtful men in many States, finds its champion in Wisconsin in Governor La Follette. He is eager to further it—not necessarily in the sweeping form in which it was presented to the last Legislature, but in some fairly advanced way, in order to put the principle on its feet in Wisconsin.

As to the State Tax Commission, all Republicans claim to be its friends; and it is necessary to look beneath the surface. Those interests which object to bigger taxes are in the "stalwart" camp; they presumably pay freely toward the bills of the organization, and seek to accomplish their ends largely through its power and machinery. Co-operating with them for the defeat of La Follette are many disinterested citizens who favor aggressive work by the Commission. These are the men who cannot stand for what they call "La Folletteism." They shrink from the Governor's methods or question his sincerity. Not a few of the representative men of Wisconsin, including a majority of those who figure in high places at Washington, are of this number. Senator Whitehead, the selected candidate against La Follette, is known as the "Father of the Tax Commission." I think it can fairly be said that the La Follette forces in the last Legislature averaged better as legislators for the people than the stalwarts. It is on this belief that many will support La Follette.

There are times when measures are above men. There are campaigns in which the issue is not the success or overthrow of men, but approval or discrediting of a principle. The principle involved in Wisconsin is popular control. The opposition has sneered at primary elections and insists that it was a La Follette scheme to intrench himself, with the aid of typewriters, by sending his literature into the smallest hamlet; but the proposal that citizens get together and indicate on secret ballot whom they would have for mayor and whom they would send to the Legislature and to Congress will not down. It commends itself over the present plan of voting for a lot of delegates, whom the citizen does not know, who are to go to some place, perhaps in another county, and vote for some person not specified. La Follette stands for the direct vote. His opponents say that he has not stood squarely always for vigorous tax reform, but the fact remains that there are now no tax-dodgers in his train. For La Follette's political excesses much excuse can be found in the terrific power and wealth pitted against him. He was the one man able to overturn the oligarchy whose rule for years bred recurring restlessness. He may be dictatorial—many leaders are—but it is impossible to conceive him as any one's tool. The lobby still lives, but it has no hold in the executive chamber. If he is renominated and re-elected, it will be because the voters strike an average, because his merits outweigh his faults, and because the obvious untrustworthiness of the "Republican League" outweighs in the balance the confessed virtue of many of its upholders. The stalwart League will be dominated, not by the many excellent citizens on its outskirts, but by the handful of adroit, tireless professionals who find La Follette an obstacle in the way of corporate control of the political machinery of the State.

The Latest Word of Agnosticism[1]

THE thesis which Mr. Taylor undertakes to make good by his criticism of ethical phenomena is the reverse of that which Thomas Hill Green, in his "Prolegomena to Ethics," maintained at Oxford; the reverse also of that to which Wilhelm Wundt, of Leipsic, has lately set his seal in saying: "The conclusions of ethics cannot be formed without a metaphysical conception of man's psychical life as a whole." On the contrary, says Mr. Taylor, ethics cannot, except in ignorance of its subject-matter, be based upon metaphysical first principles. Its proper basis is in psychology, as an empirical and provisional science based upon the observed facts of the psychical life. As to this, one who not

[1] *The Problem of Conduct.* A Study in the Phenomenology of Ethics. By Alfred Edward Taylor, Assistant Lecturer in Greek and Philosophy at the Owens College, Manchester; Late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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seldom agrees with Mr. Taylor's acute and often brilliant criticism of current ethical views may yet regard him as utterly wrong, and even inconsistent with himself.

Accepting Mr. Taylor's account of ethics as "a science of ideals," "a theory of values," it would seem that such a science or theory must be determined by the view one takes of what the ultimate reality is—a question that no thoughtful mind ignores in settling upon ideals or values. One man regards the ultimate reality as the living God, to be in moral accord with whom is his supreme concern. Another holds the ultimate reality to be material atoms, from which all things rise and into which all things return. These diverse views of the ultimate reality have inevitably and notoriously given existence to ethical ideals and values correspondingly diverse. In view of this, how can one deny that ethics is and must be based upon metaphysics? For metaphysics is, for substance, nothing but one's more or less reasoned account of ultimate reality.

Ethics, moreover, even as viewed by Mr. Taylor, does not stand clear of a metaphysical base. The earlier chapters of Green's "Prolegomena" exhibit what Mr. Taylor pronounces "untenable assumptions," regarding the human individual as a mode, or fragment, of the all-including divine consciousness. The concluding chapter of the "Problem of Conduct" exhibits the individual man, whether good or bad, as "a function of a perfect universe." The latter is certainly quite as metaphysical an account as the former of the relation which the individual bears to the All, or to ultimate reality. This relation, if recognized, cannot be recognized as anything else than the metaphysical basis which ethical science, like every other science, requires.

As it is impossible in the present limits to discuss large and attractive sections of this essay, the foregoing line of criticism may be carried further. Mr. Taylor's preference of the metaphysic which views the individual as a function of the perfect universe to the Hegelian view, in which Green regards him as a mode of the divine consciousness, seems explained by the view taken both of the individual and the universe—the former as destitute of freedom, and the latter as incapable of progress. Our range of freedom, we must admit, is far narrower than is commonly assigned. Yet, even in the case of habits acquired through conscious choice and foresight, Mr. Taylor regards every particular change as determined otherwise than by one's own control. To ask, in regard to any act, how much was due to "free" choice, and how much was not, seems to him "not unlike asking how much of the explosion is 'due' to the spark and how much to the powder." And the perfect universe, of which these necessitated human atoms are functions, "cannot, without absurdity, be said to 'evolve' at all, nor yet to 'progress.'" The absurdity, says Mr. Taylor, is in thinking to derive something from nothing. There is no source from which increment, gain, or progress can accrue to the whole of things. What are reckoned in a partial view of things as gains would be found balanced by losses elsewhere, could one see the whole. And so even moral progress is pronounced an illusion, for what men reckon such is accompanied by a loss of valuable traits belonging to preceding moral stages. Whether such ethical doctrine is virtually atheistic or not, it is a long way off from theism. It is far short even of the ground taken by Spencerians in the discrimination they make between the Universe and the Infinite and Eternal Energy it proceeds from.

Such are the central defects of this brilliant essay—the Oxford prize essay for 1899 upon "The Reciprocal Relations between Ethics and Metaphysics." It is the latest and strongest word that extreme Agnosticism has uttered. It is Kantian so far as this, that the torch of "pure reason," as held by Mr. Taylor, shows nowhere any solid ground of certainty; no supreme, irrefragable principle either in ethics or in religion. His analysis reveals to him at the heart of each an irremediable incoherence and an insoluble contradiction. From this he can find no relief except in taking, like Kant, a practical view, yet far different from Kant's, which sees a Moral Lawgiver enthroned above all the antinomies of reason. The only practical solution which he finds of the irrational situation is to act well one's part in fidelity to the duties of one's station, trusting more in good impulses than

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in sound logic. "The last word of practical life," says Mr. Taylor, is given us by religion in its worship of the perfect system as its "adequate object." But even this avails only for those in whom "a vein of ardent natural emotion" is "unchecked and unsophisticated by philosophical reflection upon the ultimate constitution of things." The large class, not thus endowed, of reflective minds whom nothing will content that involves a contradiction, is thus delivered over to a helpless skepticism. But, happily, the main currents both of philosophic thought and of scientific research do not now set toward this impotent conclusion.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

American Federal State (The): A Text-Book in Civics for High Schools and Academies. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley, A.M. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 599 pages.

An admirably planned and well-executed text-book in civics for American students. It is designed, the author says, for high schools and academies, but it is better adapted to the needs of teachers in such schools than to those of scholars. Though not a book for specialists in any one field of public activities, it covers the whole domain with a thoroughness altogether remarkable. With keen insight he has seized upon what is essential in the history of the development of our institutions and in the characterization of their present workings, and thus has been able to present in a single volume a clear review of every important phase of our public life. The shortcomings of the book are those naturally incident to its exceptional comprehensiveness. Along some lines the author has been unable to do more than summarize the conclusions of standard volumes upon them, and has not himself followed closely current discussions and events. For example, his chapter upon our system of primaries, after showing clearly the necessity of substituting popular nominations for those of the political machine, declares that the difficulties in the way of popular nominations in any large district have prevented the trial of direct primaries except for small territories. Evidently the author's study of this question ended with the reading of Dallinger, since South Carolina and Georgia have both adopted the system of direct primaries for all State offices, while Minnesota has advanced far upon the same path. Similarly, the author's description of the increasing failure of the general property tax to reach the modern forms of personal property reads like the standard books of a few years ago, and gives no suggestion of the fact that the amount of personal property assessed for taxation has increased more than the amount of real estate for the past two decades, and increased most markedly under the recent movement to assess through State boards the corporate personalty which has eluded the local assessors. But occasional inadequacies of this sort are unavoidable in a work of such compass. Mr. Ashley has performed his task with exceptional ability, and, it should be added, he has in each chapter supplemented his instructive text by a series of searching questions stimulating further work on the part of the student.

Americanization of the World (The). By W. T. Stead. Horace Markley, New York. 5×7½ in. 444 pages.

While apparently calculated to please Americans by magnifying their part in the world's development, the volume displeases them by the flamboyancy of its style and the erratic sensationalism of many of its striking passages. It is essentially a piece of yellow journalism in book form.

At Large. By E. W. Hornung. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 368 pages.

In this story Mr. Hornung returns to his earlier subject and to his earlier manner. We will frankly say that while the story is perfectly harmless and has some plot interest, it does not seem to us by any means to equal in ingenuity and liveliness Mr. Hornung's immensely popular "Amateur Cracksman" stories, nor, as a study of character and motive, "Peccavi," which latter book, indeed, has always seemed to us to indicate that Mr. Hornung might easily take a stand in a class of fiction writers to which his other work hardly points. In the present book we have the customary gentlemanly Australian bushranger let loose in London society, with melodramatic results in abundance.

Atlas of the Philippine Islands. Special Publication No. 3. Compiled by Father José Algué, S. J. Government Printing Office, Washington. 13×16 in.

This is proof of the educational work done by the Filipino Jesuits in general and in particular by Father Algué, director of the Manila Observatory. An introduction to this Atlas which he has compiled is contributed by Dr. Pritchett, formerly Superintendent of the United States and Geodetic Survey and now President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. From it we learn that, when the Philippine Commission reached Manila, they inspected the maps now included in this Atlas, and were satisfied of their superiority to anything hitherto published. The Commission

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thereupon immediately secured the co-operation of Father Algué and his assistants in preparing an entirely comprehensive atlas. The result is the series here published. It is interesting to note that the technical work was executed wholly by native Philippine draughtsmen. With their accustomed exactness, the Jesuit Fathers spared no pains in securing all available data, and verified them by consultation with various other religious orders, with old residents, travelers, and explorers. The publication of the Atlas through the agency of the United States Government is therefore an event both of great interest and of great significance.

Bible Characters: Stephen to Timothy. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 304 pages. $1.25.

The author uses the traits of some fifteen characters in the New Testament as starting-points for flights of fancy and homiletical excursions. The other books in the series have already been reviewed in these columns.

Bookbinding, and the Care of Books: A Handbook for Amateurs, Bookbinders, and Librarians. By Douglas Cockerell. Drawings by Noel Rooke. (The Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks, Edited by W. R. Lethaby.) D. Appleton & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 342 pages. $1.20.

The title above describes the scope of the book. It is one of a series designed to give simple technical instruction to amateurs. This aim has been carried out faithfully, with intelligence, and is aided by good drawings.

Bureau of American Ethnology (The): Eighteenth Annual Report (1896–97). Part 2. The Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War. Edited by Albert Harkness, Ph.D., LL.D., and Charles H. Forbes, A.B. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 593 pages. $1.25.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. By James S. Dennis, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 11×9½ in. 401 pages. $4.

This large and fine volume should command attention, as by the author of that most enlightening and inspiring presentation of the humanizing work of the missionary—"Christian Missions and Social Progress." A harbinger of it appeared in the "Centennial Statistics" reported at the Ecumenical Conference in 1900, and published in outline in the Proceedings. This volume far exceeds the limits of that report. It undertakes "to gather into one panoramic volume the cumulative foreign missionary movements of the nineteenth century, and to record the present status of mission activities with such attention to detail, and such historical and descriptive comments, that even the cursory reader must recognize the dynamic power and momentum of the Kingdom of God as now in action throughout the earth." The several lines in which this general movement and progress are thus exhibited are the Evangelistic, the Educational, the Literary, the Medical, the Philanthropic and Reformatory, the Cultural, Organizations for the Extension of Knowledge and the Furtherance of National, Social, Moral, and Religious Reform, Missionary Training Institutions and Organizations in Christian Lands, Mission Steamers and Ships. To these are added a Directory of Foreign Missionary Societies, maps, illustrations, and indices. In view of this exhibition of facts and achievements the sneer of ignorance at the alleged "failure" of missions becomes a matter of Christian pity, if not of deserved contempt.

Cloistering of Ursula (The): From the Memoirs of Andrea, Marquis of Uccelli and Count of Castelpulchio. Done into English by Clinton Scollard. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 273 pages.

A tale of sentiment and of mediæval adventure by one of the best known of American verse-writers. It is free from extreme faultiness, but does not reach a really high grade in fiction.

Course in Invertebrate Zoology (A). By Henry Sherring Pratt, Ph.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. 5½×8¼ in. 210 pages. $1.35.

Das Spielmannskind and Der Stumme Ratsherr. By Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl. Edited by George M. Priest, A.M. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7 in. 134 pages. 35c.

Dog-Day Journal (A). By Blossom Drum. The Abbey Press, New York. 4½×7½ in. 112 pages. 50c.

Elementary Book on Electricity and Magnetism and Their Applications. By Dugald C. Jackson, C.E., and John Price Jackson, M.E. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×7½ in. 482 pages. $1.40.

Elements of Physical Chemistry (The). By Harry C. Jones. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 565 pages. $4.

Among the sciences which during recent years have not only been made "new," but have achieved extraordinary progress, is Physical Chemistry. Its importance for the elucidation of many a problem in chemistry has made it an essential part of thorough discipline in that science. The important branch of it known as electro-chemistry is a valuable aid in physical researches, especially in the study of primary cells. Not only to the physicist but also to the biologist and physiologist has it become essential, and its wide-branching significance is indicated by its recently found value in the geological sciences. In Professor Jones's presentation of its elements the foundation work done by its great pioneers in the last century is fairly exhibited. Elementary as this treatise is, the nature of the subject makes some knowledge of physics and mathematics, as well as of chemistry, essential to a profitable use of it. Professor Jones has well maintained its elementary character in an all-round and well-balanced treatment of its topics, observant of the rule, *ne quid nimis*. While "great masses of empirically established facts have already been placed upon an exact physical and mathematical basis," open questions still oblige the investigator to be content for the time with empirical results, while studying to extend the generalizations by which so much progress has been made.

Engraved Gems. By Maxwell Sommerville. Illustrated. Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia. 7×10 in. 133 pages.

First Book upon the Birds of Oregon and Washington: A Pocket Guide and Pupil's Assistant. By William Rogers Lord. Illustrated. Revised and Enlarged Edition. William Rogers Lord, Portland, Oregon. 4×6 in. 304 pages.

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Frank Logan. By Mrs. John M. Clay. The Abbey Press, New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 223 pages. $1.

Grace of Orders (The). By N. B. Winston. The Abbey Press, New York. 5¼×8 in. 334 pages. $1.

Handbook of the Trees of New England. By Lorin L. Dame, S.D., and Henry Brooks. Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4½×7¼ in. 196 pages.

Designed more particularly for field use. The trees are arranged according to families, with description of habitat and range, habit, bark, winter buds and leaves, inflorescence, fruit, and horticultural value. There are eighty-seven plates, a list of botanical authorities, a glossary and index.

History of the World (The): A Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. Helmolt. With an Introductory Essay by the Right Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S. Complete in Eight Volumes. Vol. I. **Pre-History—America and the Pacific Ocean.** With Plates and Maps. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 8×11 in. 628 pages. Regular price, $6; introductory price, $4.50 per volume.

Reserved for later notice.

Lectures on the Theory of Economics. By Frederick Charles Hicks. The University of Cincinnati Press, Cincinnati. 5×8 in. 289 pages.

Leibniz's Discourse on Metaphysics, Correspondence with Arnauld, and Monadology. Translated from the Originals by Dr. George R. Montgomery. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 5×7½ in. 272 pages. 35c.

Life of Napoleon I. (The): Including New Materials from the British Official Records. By John Holland Rose, M.A. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. $4.

Reserved for later notice.

Mary Starkweather. By Corolin Crawford Williamson. The Abbey Press, New York. 5×8 in. 603 pages. $1.50.

Mastery of the Pacific (The). By Archibald R. Colquhoun. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 6¼×9¼ in. 440 pages. $4.

Reserved for later notice.

Mental Growth and Control. By Nathan Oppenheim, M.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7¼ in. 296 pages. $1.

An admirable text-book, combining the accurate knowledge without which every text-book is a sham, with a breadth and interest of treatment which give the volume unusual quality and make it unusually easy reading. Dr. Oppenheim has dealt with his subject in the largest and most important way, relating both physiology and psychology to the growth of character, to the development of mental power, to the education of the imagination, the control of the emotions, the training of the reason, and the guidance of the will. His discussion is full of the most interesting illustrations, the book constituting a very important addition, not only to the library of practical knowledge, but to the small body of books relating to self-culture which are important alike to the educated and the uneducated, and which, if mastered, go far to supply defects of early education. This volume ought to find a place on the table of students of both sexes, in schools and in the home, so full is it of practical suggestions covering the points which are most important in the making of character and the unfolding of mind. If the Personal Problem series, in which this volume finds its place, is kept up to the standard set by Dr. Oppenheim and by Dr. Canfield in his book on "The College Student and his Problems," it will be a quite invaluable aid to teachers, parents, and young men and women.

My Island. By Eilian Hughes. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¾×7 in. 208 pages. $1.25.

Daintily told and really poetical tales of child and peasant life in Wales. A word of special praise must be added for Lady Stanley's charming drawings.

Naked Truths and Veiled Allusions. By Minna Thomas Antrim (Titian). Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 4¼×6 in. 112 pages. 50c.

Philosophy of Conduct: A Treatise of the Facts, Principles, and Ideals of Ethics. By George Trumbull Ladd. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 6×9 in. 563 pages. $3.50, net.

Under this title Professor Ladd presents a very thorough discussion of the facts of the moral life and moral development. The moral view of conduct goes beyond that of the man in the street, to include the moral activities of the entire self—in feeling, judgment, and will—as aiming at the moral ideal. In two points of view this elaborate work invites special attention. Its analysis of the moral consciousness, popularly termed "conscience," as the source of ethical obligation, ethical relations, and ethical development, is both more searching and more modern than is elsewhere found. The practical interest is also peculiarly marked. The ethical spirit of the churches is criticised as "low and nerveless." Cowardice and avarice are declared "the two worst, most mischievous and most degrading vices of the nation at the present time." Society is charged with showing "an almost overpowering disinclination to regard its own more lasting and larger interests and aims from any distinctively *ethical* points of view." Decay both of morals and religion is found in the practice of a double morality "under the baleful domination of commercial greed." These affirmations are made with a conviction both of their justice and of their unpopularity. Uttered in the Preface and at various points, they form a background to the presentation of the moral life as a ceaseless struggle for a nearer approach to its ideal. "In what," asks Professor Ladd, "consists the truly virtuous life? The good man must stand up to the conflict, and do the best he can in it, for in this consists the very essence of the virtuous life itself." So again: "In the present World-Age all men must fight, or they cannot claim the title to be good, or even to be aspirants for this title." Of this moral effort intellectual effort is declared to be an essential component: "Nor can the good will remain good which does not aim at and secure mental illumination." "A virtuous intellect is essential to a virtuous man." In the ample discussion given to "The Virtuous Life" the adoption of a psychological classification—virtues of will, of judgment, of feeling—has an obvious advantage both in its simplicity and its congruity with nature: the virtues are simply the concrete forms of the virtuous life; their unity is that of the personality. Such a view is decisive against attempts to discover the one virtue that

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includes all others. Not even benevolence is thus inclusive: it requires "the idea of rational measure" for its ethical supplement. In the treatment of "Casuistry" there is somewhat of indistinctness; it should be clearly shown that whether falsehood is ever justifiable depends on the prior question, Is deception ever a duty? In the last section of the work, "The Nature of the Right," the philosophy of conduct receives full exposition. All thoroughgoing ethical inquiry lands on the coast of metaphysics. Professor Ladd's previous works in connection with the present justify his affirmation that only the idealist interpretation of the universe, as proceeding from Eternal Reason, can explain human experience. In profound conviction of this he declares that "no one who is not an idealist [not in any narrow or technical sense] can possibly be a good man; can even know what kind of a reality is meant by the very word 'goodness.'" This pregnant saying closes the elaborate discussion. The parting word is to the effect that civilization is reached only when the virtuous life is reached; it is, as Matthew Arnold said, the moralization, the humanization, of man. Professor Ladd's book, though popular in style, will not be read by the people; it is too large for them. It should be read by their leaders and teachers, and reach the people through the pulpit, the platform, and the press.

Pines and Other Poems (The). By George H. de la Vergne. B. R. Baumgardt & Co., Los Angeles, Cal. 5×7 in. 61 pages.

Scenery of England (The), and the Causes to Which it is Due. By the Right Hon. Lord Avebury. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 534 pages. $2.50.

"Geology is the geography of the past; geography is the geology of the present." Sir John Lubbock's epigram comes constantly to mind as one turns page after page of his latest book, a volume appropriately following his deservedly popular "Scenery of Switzerland." But what book of his is not popular? They have done more than merely to inform men and women about the world and the right kind of life to live in the world. They teach us to keep our eyes open and to find in every cosmic change something of deeper value than appears on the surface; they also breathe about us an atmosphere of serenity; we feel that the author himself must be better worth knowing than are any of his books. By a discerning Government Sir John has been made Lord Avebury, but to his many admirers the name Lubbock will always be uppermost in mind. His latest volume is really a book on physical geography in England, but let no one think that it concerns itself with England only. Those chapters which have to do with glacial action and river-making are equally available, applied to any country. In the general configuration of the world Lord Avebury sheds much light on such mooted points as former elevations of the land, drowned valleys, and the origin of certain sea channels—the English Channel for instance. Perhaps the most interesting chapter of all is the one which discusses the relation between law and custom on the one hand and scenery on the other. Here the author draws a particularly interesting contrast between England and France, showing the influence of the laws of inheritance and of land-tenure. We hope that Lord Avebury will add still more books to his already impressive list, if for no other reason than that of his sympathetic style. For example: "Turf is peculiarly English, and no turf is more delightful than that of our Downs—delightful to ride on, to sit on, or to walk on. It indeed feels so springy under our feet that walking on it seems scarcely an exertion; one could almost fancy that the Downs themselves were still rising, even higher into the air."

Shakespeare's Tragedy of Julius Cæsar. Edited by Raymond Macdonald Alden, Ph.D. Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., Boston. 4½×6 in. 212 pages.

Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse. By Ernest Renan. Edited by Irving Babbitt. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4¾×7 in. 257 pages.

Story of Three (The). By Walter James Sherwood. Illustrated. William S. Lord, Evanston, Ill. 6×10 in. 16 pages. 25c.

Studies of Trees in Winter. By Annie Oakes Huntington. Illustrated. Knight & Millet, Boston. 5½×8½ in. 198 pages.

Lovers of trees will welcome this attractive book. Its purpose is to enable persons not familiar with the characteristics of trees to recognize them in winter. The brief and comprehensive descriptions are accompanied by a series of sixty-seven photographs, showing with discrimination the shapes of the different species of trees and the nature of their bark. There are also twelve colored plates showing winter buds. The book is admirable for its simplicity and its exclusiveness, containing neither notes on forestry nor agricultural suggestions on planting. It has the charm of a walk through the woods with a friend who knows trees, or of a day in the Arnold Arboretum, where the varieties are named and can be studied. Professor Charles S. Sargent, Director of the Arboretum, has written a graceful introduction pointing out the added life that one may enjoy in ordinarily going about or on a railway journey if he knows the trees and their habits of growth. Tree photography is a difficult art, in which Miss Huntington has attained rare proficiency. Some of the pictures of special beauty are a great American elm at Lancaster, Mass., a double row of English elms, the white trunk of a canoe birch, a group of gray birches, the smooth gray trunk of a beech, spreading stems of moosewood maple, trunks of shagbark hickories, the thrifty stem of a young black walnut, and the outline of a swamp white oak against the sky. These stay in the mind after the book is closed, and become a part of one's possession. A small fraction of the pictures are not well selected. The descriptive notes are clear, definite, and really instructive. They include, besides the general descriptions, statements about the geographical distribution of the trees and the meaning of their Latin names, which are not peculiar to trees in winter, but add to the value of the book. We should extend the range of certain trees beyond the limits given. The butternut, for instance,

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grows much further west than New York and Pennsylvania. The use made of the wood of each tree forms a valuable addition to each description. It is a matter of regret that none of the evergreens are included, perhaps because their characteristics are not much different in winter from those in summer. We hope that Miss Huntington will publish another book on the evergreens with the same pictorial accuracy.

Tales for Toby. By Ascott R. Hope. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 207 pages. $1.50.

Western Maryland in the Revolution. By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph.D. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 6×9½ in. 57 pages.

Widow Wiley and Some Other Old Folk. By Brown Linnet. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 307 pages. $1.50.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

Address Wanted: If Mr. J. E. Banks, who addressed an important inquiry to this column, will communicate his post-office address, he can obtain reply.

I should like to get something that would treat rather fully the history of the religion of the Hebrews in some such way as Menzies has in the chapter on Israel in his "History of Religion." Menzies has given me an entirely new idea of the growth and development of religion, and of the Hebrew religion particularly, and I should like to follow his work up by something fuller on the Hebrew religion. I have Driver's "Old Testament Literature," Bennett's "Primer of the Bible," Batten's "Modern View of the Old Testament," and Abbott's "Literature of the Old Testament." But these do not give just what I want in the way of a connected account of the religion of the Hebrews from earliest times, according to the latest scientific and literary criticism. E. M. V.

Budde's "Jewish Religion to the Exile" and Cheyne's "Jewish Religion After the Exile" are probably what you want. (Putnams, New York, $1.50 each.)

For several years I have taken much interest in the skillful and profound interpretations found in Notes and Queries. I accept the statements I have seen there at different times in reference to the resurrection body. But I do not think the statement true that "intelligent people have ceased to believe in the resurrection of the buried body." Since I saw that statement in The Outlook I have heard two preachers proclaim from the pulpit the doctrine of the literal resurrection of the buried body. How are we to explain the passages in I Thess. iv., and I Cor. xv., which seem to support the old-time doctrine? A. T. C.

The text first mentioned does not touch the question at issue; the second expressly repudiates the doctrine of a literal bodily resurrection.

An editorial in The Outlook leads me to bring to you a question for which I am earnestly seeking an answer. Can you recommend to me any text-book, suitable for Bible class work, embodying the conclusions of modern scholarship as to the Old Testament history (not especially as to its literature), emphasizing "the partial and gradual character of the revelation," yet dominated by "the spirit of reverence for divine things"? M. R. M.

Dr. Wade's "Old Testament History" (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $1.50) comes nearer to your wish than any work we know. A notice of it was in The Outlook February 8.

I am beginning to read the Bible again with some young people. I mean we have begun the study of Genesis. Can you tell us *how* to proceed so as to get the most *practical* help? We have little leisure and want to make every minute count. R. C.

Wade's "Old Testament History" is a good companion book for the Bible reader (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $1.50). You may combine with this McFadyen's "Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians" (Scribners, New York, $1), and Ottley's "Short History of the Hebrews" (Macmillan, New York, $1.25). Professor Toy, of the Harvard Divinity School, in his "History of the Religion of Israel," has given a course of thirty lessons of great value, with lists of reference-books, etc. (Unitarian Sunday-School Society, Boston, 40c.)

1. In your review of "The Church's One Foundation," February 15, you state that the book will be "more helpful to those who already possess Christian faith and want it defined and strengthened, than to those who do not possess it, and are seeking for arguments by which they may be convinced of its truth." Kindly suggest some books which, in your opinion, do what this book does *not* do (*a*) for the more cultured, (*b*) for the rank and file. 2. Is it the custom to hold dedication services for a church on a week-day or on a Sunday? P. A. W.

1. (*a*) "A Religion that Will Wear" (T. Whittaker, New York, $1.25). (*b*) "What Shall We Think of Christianity?" (Scribners, New York, $1.) 2. Custom varies; there is abundant precedent for either.

"R. W. D." says: "In Francis Newman's 'Phases of Faith' he refers at length to the great influence exerted over him by an intensely religious character during his stay in Ireland as a young man. Has the identity of this person ever been disclosed?" The person was John Nelson Darby, practically the leader and foremost man among the Plymouth Brethren. He replied to Newman's book "Phases of Faith" in a book entitled "Irrationalism of Infidelity." An account of Newman's connection with Darby, as well as the whole movement, can be found in a book published September, 1901, by Wm. Blair Neatby, M.A., entitled "A History of Plymouth Brethren" (D. T. Bass, 24 West Twenty-second Street). It is an intensely interesting book. J. F. L.

"R. D." communicates substantially the same facts as "J. F. L." and adds that Mr. Darby was in early life a very zealous Church of England clergyman in Ireland.

"B. J. W." wishes to add the following to our answer, February 15, to "F. H. P.'s" inquiry for a book or books giving "the best and most unbiased description of the Roman Catholic faith as differing from the Protestant belief"—"What Christ Revealed," by Rev. L. Joonin, S. J., of St. John's College, Fordham; also "Plain Facts for Fair Minds," by the Rev. George M. Searle, of the Paulist Order (Catholic Book Exchange, 120 West Sixtieth Street, New York).

"A. W. D." will find the "Song of the Mystic" in Father Ryan's Poems, twentieth edition, as published by P. J. Kennedy, 5 Barclay Street, New York. F. L. F.

"D. Y. C." will find the stanzas on the sun-dial at St. Mark's, Venice, in "Rhymes from Time to Time," by Bishop Doane, of Albany (Oxford University Society, New York). J. N. N.

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The Mothers' Congress

From a Special Correspondent

THE Sixth National Congress of Mothers, held recently at Washington, seems to confirm the prevailing impression that there exists a large number of women who believe that "no work in the world pays so much as mother work." Interest in the work of the Congress is probably deeper and more general than in that of any other special woman's organization; for its subject is one which, in the very nature of things, will undoubtedly always be pre-eminent in the minds of true womankind. That is a comprehensive declaration of principles which the Congress has promulgated, pronouncing for progress in the household, in the care and education of the child, and in the wonderful relationship which lies at the root of the State's advancement. The plan of work is certainly broad and inclusive, for it embraces equal rights of guardianship over children, the improvement of moral conditions among the young, the better comprehension of child nature, raising the age of consent to that of legal majority, finding homes for homeless children, self-culture, a National training-school for women, establishing chairs of paidology—or the science of the child—in universities and normal schools, teaching domestic science, physical education, humane education, and the introduction of a more artistic and hygienic dress for women. In addition, the practical lines of work developed include public playgrounds, vacation schools, better sanitation for schools, parent and teacher co-operation, Old Home week, etc.

In view of what the National Mothers' Congress represents, its developments are of wide general interest. Its organization has steadily and surely grown during the brief five years of its existence to include twelve State organizations and hundreds of local mothers' clubs of all types. Mrs. Alice M. Birney, the gentle founder and quiet, persistent moving spirit of the Congress, in retiring from the presidency this year gives way, it appears, to a leader in Mrs. Frederic Schoff, of Philadelphia, who will heartily conserve the best interests of the established work, while giving special impetus to the work for juvenile offenders and their care and education, in which she has been so moving a factor as State President of the Pennsylvania Mothers' Congress.

The sixth meeting seems to have sustained the high character of the previous gatherings. Noted specialists in many lines of thought which touch child life were there—doctors, teachers, professors, and preachers, shedding light on the theory and practice of the great perennial profession, the rearing of a child. Particularly did the practical side appeal to the large and enthusiastic audiences, who appear to have been composed of a body of intelligent, interested, mother-hearted women. Miss Mary Remington, of Buffalo, with her lively account of the commendable Remington Gospel Settlement and what it has done to improve the homes of the very poor and shiftless; Miss Mary Garrett, of Philadelphia, with her group of trained poor deaf children; Dr. Sherman Davis, of Indiana, with his keen philosophical analysis, apt wit, and illustrations probing the many-sided inner life and development of the child; Mr. David Willard, with his graphic recital of his work in educating and caring for the child criminals of New York; Miss Mary D. Runyon, of New York, on child's literature; Mrs. Mary Bowner Page, of Chicago, on discipline, all evoked intelligent discussion and sustained interest. The usual object-lessons of the Mothers' Congress were not wanting. There was a model kindergarten; a day nursery was in full swing; a baby incubator was in operation; tables of child study literature, of toys and games and educational material, exhibits of children's essentials of all sorts, were besieged by groups of interested women. The influence of such a gathering, it must be conceded, is incalculable. And it should not be beyond the bounds of possibility that its evolution, as has been suggested, will be an international congress, not of women only, but of men and women, wherein will be discussed all the great questions that concern child-training and the home.

J. S.

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Correspondence

An Appeal from Booker Washington

To the Editors of The Outlook:

When the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was started at Tuskegee, Ala., in 1881, it was considered by many to be an experiment; but the institution has not only existed now nearly twenty-one years, but has constantly grown in size and in the confidence and sympathy of the white people of the country, North and South, and of the colored people themselves. Although it started with but thirty students, the present number in attendance in the regular departments is 1,196, coming from twenty-eight States and Territories, also from Africa, Cuba, Porto Rico, and other foreign countries. Besides, counting those who are in regular attendance at the institution, together with those in the training-school, town night-school, and the town afternoon cooking-school, there is a total of 1,514 students reached by our teachers. This number does not include the hundreds of adults who are reached through the Tuskegee Annual Negro Conference, together with its numerous local Negro Conferences.

Agriculture is made the chief industry, and all the industries are those which the student can find immediate use for in the South after leaving school.

In all of the departments there are ninety instructors and officers, not counting clerks, etc.

Instruction is given in twenty-eight different industries in connection with a good English education.

The institution is non-sectarian, but moral and religious training is constantly emphasized.

The number of students that have graduated or remained in the institution long enough to fit them for effective service either as teachers or as industrial leaders and workers is nearly four thousand.

The most embarrassing part of the work at present is that the demand for our graduates from among both races in the South is many times larger than we can supply. Three have been recently employed by the German Government to introduce the growing of cotton in a German colony in Africa.

Beginning with nothing in the way of property, at the present time the property of the institution consists of 2,300 acres of land; counting the smaller buildings as well as the larger ones, there are fifty-three buildings, built almost wholly by the student labor. The real and personal property of the institution is valued at $375,000.

As a beginning of an endowment fund, we have now $273,000, which is invested in conservative and marketable securities by our Endowment Fund Committee in New York.

Aside from the cost of needed additions annually made to improve the plant, the annual current expenses in connection with carrying on this many-sided work are now nearly $110,000. Of this amount, $32,000 is reasonably sure to come each year from stated sources, leaving $78,000 to be raised in small sums by individual effort for current expenses alone.

Owing to the economy and business methods constantly practiced, the school is practically free from debt, but $60,000 will have to be secured between now and June 1 to cover current and special expenses for the present year to enable us to end it free from debt. I have made this plain business statement in order that the public may know what our condition and needs are.

May we not safely say that the Tuskegee Institute has passed the experimental stage? Is it not time that the institution was put upon something like a permanent basis?

By far too large a proportion of our annual expense is uncertain and dependent upon the efforts of one individual. We need an endowment that is much larger than that which we now have to meet our present demands, to say nothing of the future growth of the institution.

Nearly all persons give the Tuskegee Institute, in connection with the Hampton Institute, which has led the way, credit in a large degree for finding and leading the way in the solution of the race problem of the South, and for presenting a tangible, visible object-lesson to the country of the kind of training that is most needed by

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the colored people in their present condition. Since all this is true, does not the country owe it to the institution to put it upon a firm basis by providing an endowment that will be in keeping with its character and usefulness? Has not the time come when the Tuskegee Institute should be relieved in some degree from the present hard, grinding, hand-to-mouth existence, so that the Principal can give more of his time and thought to the larger question of the elevation of his people throughout the South, and toward the expansion of the Hampton and Tuskegee idea in the solution of the race problem? We confidently believe that the Tuskegee Institute is doing a work not alone for the negro and the South, but for the whole Nation as well.

Funds for the Endowment Fund or for other purposes may be sent to Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., 128 Broadway, New York, Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, 47 Cedar Street, New York, or Mr. George Foster Peabody, 27 Pine Street, New York, or direct to the Treasurer of the Institute, Mr. Warren Logan, or to myself. I shall be very glad to hear from any one on the subject.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Tuskegee, Ala.

Growth of the Episcopal Church

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Dr. H. K. Carroll's figures, as given in The Outlook of February 15, showing a gain for the Episcopal Church of 31,341 communicants during the last year—the largest proportional gain of any Protestant body—have been seriously cut down by an impartial and reliable critic. The report on its face was open to some incredulity in view of the figures shown for other Churches. The "Churchman," in a three-column article, has recently gone through all the Church statistics, which it criticises in detail as showing a lack of systematic and uniform record-keeping that needs correction. The three Church Almanacs constantly differ in their figures, and none of them by itself appears to be thoroughly reliable. Between the lowest and the highest total of communicants reported by these variant authorities there is a discrepancy of no less than 6,764. Dr. Carroll's figures, as revised by the "Churchman," are enormously too large for the *net* gain. "If," says the "Churchman," "we take the figures of 1901 [for the year then past], add to these the confirmations and *subtract the burials* [the italics are mine], we can account only for a gain of some 6,000. Either, then, a considerable number of those buried, even after allowing for infants, were not communicants, or the reports of last year must have been defective."

ARITHMETICUS.

New York.

Divorce and the Methodist Church

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In the interests of accuracy I should like to call attention to a misleading statement in an article headed "The Children's Side of Divorce," printed in The Outlook for February 22. Unless the author is expressing a hope instead of stating a fact, she is in error in representing the Methodist Church as ". . . absolutely refusing marriage to the divorced *under all circumstances*. . . ." We suppose the Methodist Episcopal Church is meant. According to paragraph thirty-nine of the Discipline of that body, divorce, except for adultery, is not regarded as lawful, and no minister is authorized to solemnize marriage in any case where there is a divorced wife or husband living. But "this rule shall not be applied *to the innocent party to a divorce for the cause of adultery*, nor to divorced parties seeking to be reunited in marriage." (The italics are mine.) This may not be quite as strict a position as the article in question seems to indicate, but it is the fact in the case.

METHODIST.

Newark, N. J.

"The Right of Way" Again

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I would like to ask "C. S. P.," whose letter on "The Right of Way" appears in The Outlook of February 22, what is the exact significance of the heading to Chapter XL.? Why did Rosalie "dare not go to confession"? (page 318). Why was "all irrevocable, sealed with the great seal"? (page 321). Why could she ask Charley anything "now" which she might not have asked before? What is the particular point made by the rarely quoted passage from the Bible which she asks him to read (page 365), and what did he

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"understand" after reading it? What does Rosalie mean (page 367) by "in your mad selfishness, you did not care for the poor girl who forgot all, lost all"? Lastly, why, in the name of common sense, did Rosalie feel impelled to take the part of the Magdalene in the Passion Play, and why was the Curé able to absolve her so readily on her kneeling and "speaking no word" immediately afterward? (page 387). Certainly "The Right of Way" is the strongest, most soul-stirring book I have read in many a day, and to my mind it is in no way weakened by what I see so plainly in it. Surely no one has any "justification of criticism" for Rosalie! She was young, innocent, and, like too many girls, ignorant. She had not known a mother's care, but thousands of mothers to-day are bringing girls up to womanhood in an enlightened country in equal ignorance. Oh, the pity of it! T.

How Shall We Think of the Dead?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

"W. A. M.'s" letter from Meadville, Pa., printed in The Outlook for February 8, must find a ready echo in the hearts of all of us who have lost those who in life stood nearest. I think that, after the momentary exaltation accompanying the sense of mastery over a great grief, comes that rush of shamefaced fear that the very hope in which we have reveled—that the dear soul who has gone is nearer than ever to our thoughts, and sees not only our acts but our motives—is often to be a source of poignant agony. "How," we think, "can she endure the daily spectacle of our pitifully human weaknesses, the unspoken offenses, the only half-thought infractions, the miserable entanglements incident to the life confined by the grossness of the mere human body?" To "W. A. M." and all others the answer should be plain. Possibly it is best answered in The Outlook in the editorial "The Inflexible Guide:" "And behold, Love smiled down on him with eyes full of infinite tenderness!"

Rest assured, good friends, they who have gone on do know and see every act and every deed, if not at once, then in God's good time; for to some death is the blessed opportunity to attain the Eternal Harmony which life could somehow not give. But not with eyes do they see! Not as men see men, nor as we judge, nor as we condemn. Thank God they *do* see with Love's eyes, and that, if they glory when we conquer, no less they pity when we fall. Throw your heart open, "W. A. M.," and have no shame for the very weakness of it. What is more blessed in this present world than to feel that our friends know our faults and forgive them with willing readiness? You would not project human terms into eternity! Then why fear to let them who loved you, and who have gone, see all that's in you? There will be pain for it, some days, but "when through patient toil we reach the land where tired feet with sandals loosed may rest, and we shall clearly know and understand," I think that you will say Love's eyes were fullest of infinite tenderness when we poor mountaineers fell most dismally among the crags. J. E. D.

Portland.

Socialism and Liberty

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Your paragraph III. in the recent editorial "Better than Socialism" speaks of Socialism as bartering "individual freedom for supposed physical comfort, and that is always and by necessity a bad bargain." Allow me to say that the question of Socialism does not turn upon any such point.

Neither Socialists nor laymen, if of the intelligent sort, attribute present social evils to too great individual freedom. They are due to the forced perversion, by a false industrial structure, of individual effort into destructive instead of constructive lines. Hence, no further restriction of individual freedom can possibly mitigate these evils.

All present social evils which are measurable in dollars, and many which are not, are due to the distribution of wealth by a trial of commercial force between the contending parties to every bargain, by a mental and moral passage-at-arms, so to speak, instead of by the quiet operation of the law of supply and demand. The question of Socialism is that of war versus peace.

This simile is not too strong. It is insufficiently so. In the duello or in the modern prize-ring man is matched against man, carefully and in equity, heavyweight

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against heavyweight. Anglo-Saxon love of fair play and the Marquis of Queensberry rules enter to modify the cruelty of the issue. In commercial competition, on the other hand, there is no such moderator. The operator in coal or wheat or railway fares puts on the pressure to the utmost of his man's strength, girded and multiplied by organization into the disciplined cohorts of the commercial army. This pressure falls upon and must be borne by the individual consumer. There are millions of him, all individuals, with the strength for resistance of the sands of the sea. A large part of the consumers are women and children. New York has recently had an edifying picture of a trial of manly strength between an ice corporation and the children in need of milk.

But to suppress this horrid contest no invasion of individual freedom need be attempted. In order to quell prize-fighting the contestants need not be ordered into Sunday-school by law. All that is needed to suppress any such brutality is the double process: (1) Discountenance by public opinion, expressed through the medium of the law; (2) demonstration by trial that peace is more profitable. As for the first, how many arrests and fines did it take to stop expectoration in street-cars? As for the second, peace would mean, in the above illustration, merely the organization of all the men who wish to supply ice under a superintendent who is at the same time the agent of all the people who wish to buy ice. That is Socialism.

You say, "No man will be free to choose his own vocation." Where in the above is the promise of coercion? The post-office service is almost pure Socialism. Where is the trace of the press-gang, forcing unwilling laborers into its ranks? There is none, any more than there is in the privately owned telegraph service. The question between the two, Shall a public service be operated for the sake of the service, seeking no profit, dividends, nor interest, or shall it be operated solely with a view to pecuniary profit, by making the price as high and the service as cheap as possible?—where in this question arises any connection with that of individual coercion?

Except in this way: The question is between war and peace. In war, discipline is rigid, relentless; the individual is absolutely sunken within the interests of the whole. It is war that we have now in the commercial world: civil war, bitterest of all wars, every man against his fellow! The strife is heavy; the ranks are close. But for the charities the devil would get a goodly crop of hindmost. Kitchener in South Africa regrets to report no such percentage of casualties as do Bradstreet and Dun on Broadway. The choice of occupations is Hobson's choice. A job is a job, and be thankful for any!

The adoption of Socialism will be merely a treaty of peace—after the Thirty Centuries' War of Barter! A country which has lifted its head once out of civil war needs no telling what that means, in individual freedom of opportunity, of choice of occupation, of success at it.

SIDNEY A. REEVE.

[Our correspondent will probably not question that John Stuart Mill is an authority in sociology, and that his definition of Socialism, by which we here mean State Socialism, may be regarded as an authoritative definition. It is as follows: "What is characteristic of socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production; which carries with it the consequence that the division of the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community." It is clear that if all the instruments and means of production are jointly owned by the community, and all the products of industry are divided according to rules laid down by the community, there is a practical end of individual liberty in industry.—THE EDITORS.]

The Monroe Doctrine—A Rejoinder

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Mr. Henry Wood puts a question to which he—and possibly you also—may expect an answer. He asks if I would sanction a war against one or more Powers in defense of the Monroe Doctrine. Although it seems to me that the question answers itself, I will reply, Yes. This is merely another way of saying that I do not regard the Doctrine as an empty threat, or as a bluff, or as a fetish, but as a principle beneficial to this country, to

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the American Republics, and to the world, which carries an obligation to stand by our guns as well as by the principle in the event that other Powers were to assail the independence of an American neighbor. Any other course of conduct would make accurate Mr. Wood's characterization of the Doctrine.

Discussion of the right and wrong of the Doctrine between Mr. Wood and myself would be as futile as an argument on the doctrine of infant baptism between a Roman Catholic and an atheist. We have no common ground, no accepted premises. He says frankly that he is opposed to war "for any and every reason save possibly for pure self-defense." If I held to that principle, I should be with him on the Monroe Doctrine issue. But I do not; and I am glad to believe that few of our fellow-countrymen agree with him. Has a citizen a right to say that he will not sanction the use of force, that he will not himself seize by the throat a ruffian who is attacking his sister or mother, and that he will be non-resistant of evil only—"save possibly"—in case his own pocket is to be picked, or his own heart's blood is to be shed? The world is coming, slowly, it is true, to the view that the nations form a community comparable to the civil community, each under an obligation to respect the rights of others, each having a duty to help in preserving order and in preventing national murder and robbery. The new Anglo-Japanese treaty seems to me a fine and praiseworthy exemplification of an admirable modern international idea. If a war should result from it, it would be a righteous war. I think that is an explicit answer not only to the question put by Mr. Wood, but to all supplementary questions to which it might give rise.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Excise Law Enforcement

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Outlook cites in support of its theory the analogous (?) cases of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Spanish law against Protestant worship in the Netherlands, because sentiment nowadays easily approves resistance to such laws. But does The Outlook think this fair? Are these examples of duty under existing government? Or are they not both examples of that resistance to law and government which means eventually revolution—the abolition of existing government—and, in fact, in both the cases cited led to revolution? Pardon me if I add that it seems to me that it is quite evasive to say, as you say in a later issue, replying to another correspondent, that "discretion is left with the executive to determine how far enforcement of the law is practicable with the means put at his disposal." That is Mayor Low's indefinitely stronger position, as taken in his recent letter to the Society for the Prevention of Crime, in which he says: "The Excise Law has been enforced up to the very limit of what is practicable with the means at our command." But I submit that that is a very different proposition from your proposition in the issue of January 25—that public officials are to "take account of the public sentiment of the community," and of their own opinion about the "injustice" of the laws, in deciding to what extent they will enforce the laws. The Anarchist, as soon as he wins a few more converts in some sections of our large cities, will ask no better justification than this.

GERALD H. BEARD.

Burlington, Vt.

A Correction

To the Editors of The Outlook:

May we call your attention to an error in the article entitled "What the Libraries are Doing for the Children," in your issue of February 15? The statement is made that a list of children's books with children's annotations has been sent out by this Library. Since the publication of the article we have had numerous inquiries for copies of this list. No such list has been published. It is simply in the process of compilation by a number of children's librarians in different parts of the country. The progress of the work is slow, and it is not expected that the list will be ready for publication for a long time to come. If you will kindly make this correction, we shall be obliged.

MARY W. PLUMMER, Librarian.

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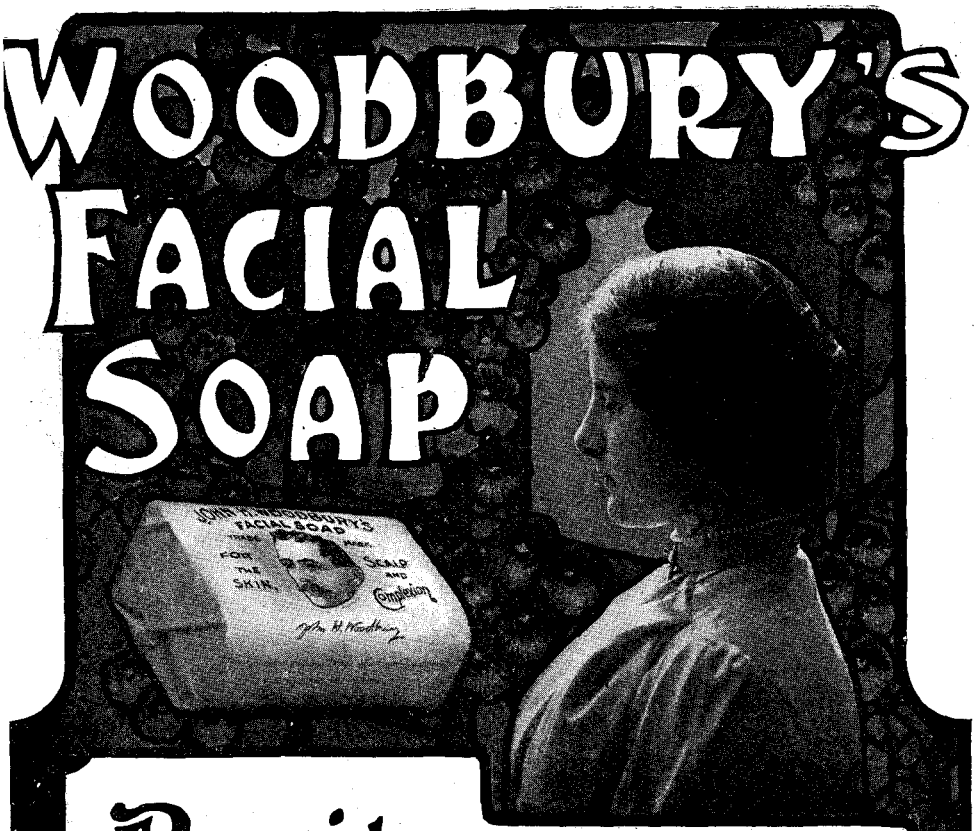

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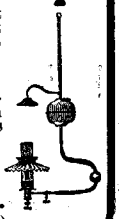

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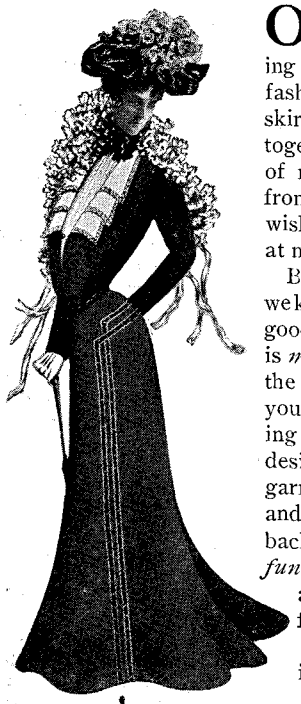

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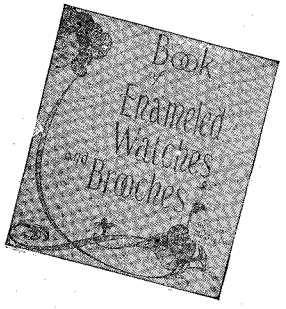

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